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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Shri B.N. Datar : Joined Government of Bombay 1942; Assistant Labour Commissioner, Ahmedabad; Assistant Labour Commissioner, Bombay, 1944-48; Deputy Labour Commissioner, 1949; Assistant Chief, Planning Commission, 1950-54; Director (Labour & Employment), Planning Commission, April 1954—.

Shri Indarjit Singh : Joined the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, 1937; Deputy Government Examiner, Railways; Deputy Accountant General, U.P.; Private Secretary to the Finance Minister; Member for Finance and Industry, PEPSU State Government, 1948-49; Secretary, Central Board of Revenue, 1949-50; Collector of Central Excise, 1950-51; Commissioner of Income-tax, 1951-53; Secretary, Taxation Enquiry Commission, 1953-55; at present Member, Central Board of Revenue, and engaged on the Enquiry into the Reorganisation of the Indian Income-tax Department.

Prof. D.G. Karve : M.A. (Bombay); veteran economist and philosopher-administrator; Chairman, Bombay Administrative Enquiry Committee, 1948; Executive Editor, Bombay District Gazetteers (Revision), 1949-52; Chairman, Madhya Bharat Co-operative Planning Committee, 1952; Director, Programme Evaluation Organisation, Planning Commission, 1952-55; Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1954-55; Member, Panel of Economists and Panel on Land Reforms, Planning Commission; Author of "Public Administration in a Democracy", 1950.

Shri B.S. Khanna : M.A.; Lecturer in Political Science and Public Administration, Punjab University; at present engaged on research on "Administrative Services in India and England in the post-war period" at London School of Economics and Political Science.

Shri N.S. Mani : Joined the Indian Civil Service, 1937; Assistant Collector; District Collector; Secretary, Civil Supplies and Food Production; Director of Controlled Commodities (Madras); Secretary, Union Public Service Commission, 1955; at present Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

Shri S.P. Mohite : B.A., LL. B.; Joined the Bombay Civil Service, May, 1937; Appointed in I.A.S., 1949; Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1937; Deputy Collector in Bombay Civil Service; Superintendent, Land Records and Land Revenue Settlement Officer, 1940-42; Served in World War II; Officer on Special Duty for Co-operative Farming; Collector and District Magistrate, 1947-49; Director of Food Production, Bombay State, 1949-50; Collector and District Magistrate, 1950-52; Deputy Development Commissioner, 1952-53; Addl. Development Commissioner and Joint Secretary, Political and Services Department, Government of Bombay, July 1953—.

Shri H.M. Patel : B.A. (Oxon.), B. Com. (London), C.I.E. (1946); Joined the Indian Civil Service, 1926; Deputy Secretary, Finance Department, Government of Bombay; Secy., Stock Exchange Committee, 1936-37; Trade Commissioner, Northern Europe, at Hamburg, June 1937; Deputy Trade Commissioner and Trade Commissioner, London, 1939-40; Secy., Eastern Group Supply Council, 1941-42; Deputy Director-General, Supply Dept., 1942-43; Joint Secy., and Secy., Industries and Civil Supplies Department, 1943-46; Joint Secy., and Secretary to the Cabinet, 1946-47; Partition Secretary; Defence Secretary, 1947-53; Food and Agriculture Secretary, 1953-54; Secretary, Ministry of Finance (Economic Affairs Department), December 1954—.

Shri Pitambar Pant : Lecturer in Physics, University of Allahabad, 1939; Secretary to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, 1945-46; Technical Assistant to Prof. P.C. Mahalanobis in U.K. and U.S.A., 1946-47; Under Secretary, Private Secretary to Minister for Rehabilitation, 1951; Private Secretary to Chairman, Planning Commission, 1953—, Deputy Secretary 1955; Hon. Joint Secretary, Indian Statistical Institute, 1955; Secretary, Statistical Quality Control Policy Advisory Committee, 1954; Member, Standing Metric Committee, 1955.

Shri Rana K. D. N. Singh : A. M. (Chicago); Joined the Indian Administrative Service, 1950; Fulbright Scholar, Chicago University, 1953-54; at present Deputy Secretary in Planning and Development Department, Government of Assam.

Shri Anand K. Srivastava : M. Sc. ; Joined the Indian Audit & Accounts Service, December 1950; Assistant Accountant General, Uttar Pradesh, December 1952; Assistant Accountant General, Madhya Pradesh, January 1954 ; at present studying at New York University for M. P. A. degree.

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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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A Word to the Services

[The following is the full text of a speech made by the Prime Minister, SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, at Kurnool, in Andhra, on the 9th December, 1955 to an audience of public servants. What he has said is of the greatest importance not only for all public servants throughout India but also for those whom they serve.

The speech also happens to be a particularly good example of the Prime Minister's direct, natural, spontaneous and thinking-aloud style. We make no apologies for reproducing the speech exactly as it fell from his lips for only thus can the readers share adequately the experience of those who heard it.—Ed.]

“I DO not usually have the opportunity of addressing the Services as such, except sometimes in our rather narrow circle of Delhi. I am rather glad, therefore, that during my brief visit to Kurnool, this engagement has been made for me. The Governor just spoke about the essential part that the Services play at any time but most specially at a time when the country is trying to advance rapidly according to some planned method and advancing towards a socialistic structure of society. Now, what exactly are the Services? What is their purpose? We have to be clear about that. The Services, as their name implies, are supposed to serve, obviously. Serve who?—society, the people, the country. Why I say this is, because, the test always has to be how far the Services, whether as a whole or any individual members of them, are serving the larger causes that society has, that the nation has.

“In the past a great deal of attention was paid to what might be called Service Rules and Regulations. Complicated rules running into thick volumes were made for them. Now, rules are quite right. There should be rules; there should be certainty as to what happens under a certain set of circumstances. The individual serving

should have security and should not be dealt with automatically or spasmodically just as somebody wants to. That is all right. Nevertheless, it is going rather beyond that mark, when the whole Governmental structure, you might say, turns round the Services. Why was this so? This was so, because in the old days, really, the Governmental structure *was* the higher or the superior services. That was the Government, from top to bottom.

"The old Indian Civil Service and other senior Services were the people who laid down the policy in India and therefore were the highest authority in India apart from some distant authority in England. The Services that were built up in those days in India were very competent Services; the senior Services were fairly efficient Services. But there were two things about it. *First of all*, they served naturally the larger policies which were determined by the British Government. They had to. That was the final authority. *Secondly*, being a service structure they thought of the good of India rather in the terms of the good of their own kind, which was not obviously always the same. It was rather the approach to the question, a mentality. Now that of course has changed and has to change for a variety of reasons. First, the country is independent. There is no British authority and no attempt by a foreign authority to impose its own wishes. Secondly, we have what is called a democratic structure where the final authority are the people of India who from time to time elect their representatives in Parliaments and Assemblies and the majority parties in those Assemblies or Governments. Now those Governments inevitably have to be responsive to public opinion. Therefore, the final authority, that is the public, becomes the arbiter. Naturally the public does not consider every problem, every detail; it can't, but the broadest policies they have to decide upon. Therefore, the whole structure of Government in India has changed from rather an autocratic structure to a democratic structure—a structure which was based on some outside authority to a structure which is based on an authority not only within the country but ultimately responsible to the people of the country. That is a basic change. Together with that other changes have come. That is to say, the State now thinks much more about social and economic problems. The State has become a dynamic State—not a static State. Of course, no individual

or no State is ever completely static. It can't be. If anything is completely static it is dead. Only death puts an end to all movement. But broadly speaking, the previous State was a static State. It changed gradually. The present State has to be a dynamic State because of a large number of forces at work apart from our own desire to make up for the lost time and to build a new India. So our outlook becomes less and less purely political and more and more social and economic. Political, of course, to some extent it has to be. But the importance of the political element becomes less and less. It is the growth of a country, it is the growth of a social group, if that group begins to think more on economic and social lines and less on political lines. It is the measure of the growth of India today that we are thinking more and more on economic and social lines of 5-year plans, schemes of development, and all this, rather than purely political questions. Now if all these great changes have taken place in India, and are continually taking place, obviously the Services have to adapt themselves to them; have to adapt methods to the changed *conditions* of work and the changed *objectives* of work.

"Work for the Services has grown greatly in India. It is very difficult for me to say how much work has grown, let us say, in the Delhi Central Secretariat. But a senior Civil Servant was telling me that it was hundred times more than previously. I think that was an exaggeration (Laughter). But it is a fact that it has grown tremendously. That is to say in two ways : One is, there are entirely *new* types of work which we have to do and which we didn't do before. Let us say, take our Foreign Office. It is a new thing entirely. There was no Foreign Office previously. Now it is an enormous establishment, thousands of people serving abroad, hundreds here, vast number of various grades of people serving in the office, learning foreign languages, school of foreign languages, all kinds of things and it goes on growing. We cannot stop it growing. Because, as an independent country we have to deal with other independent countries. We can't ask somebody else to deal on our behalf. That is a sign of dependence.

"Then take again, this—of course it is in a sense temporary but we have to face it—our Ministry of Rehabilitation in Delhi has to deal with 8 or 9 million people who came as refugees from Pakistan and to rehabilitate them. It has to

deal with millions of little and big houses left by the evacuees. It is a huge organisation spread out over various parts of India, looking after large properties, what is called evacuee property. It has started schools and colleges, all kinds of factories for the refugees. It is a Government in itself—the Ministry of Rehabilitation dealing with 8 million people. I have given you two examples. I can give you, of course, any number. Our Scientific Departments have grown tremendously. Our Ministry of Commerce and Industry has grown very greatly. There is a new Ministry of Production, there is a new Ministry of Planning and so on. Our Ministry of Health functions in a bigger way, our Ministry of Education functions in a much bigger way, every Ministry functions in a very much bigger way and many new Ministries have come into being. Take Defence. Previously Defence was really an organisation here to carry out the basic policies laid down in London—just to give effect to them. Now we grow. We have to lay down our policies. We have to develop not only the outer structure of defence but the industrial apparatus behind defence. The Defence Ministry today owns great industries all over, just like a number of other Ministries. The Communications Ministry owns great factories making telephones and what not. The Railway Ministry owns Chittaranjan Locomotive Works and the Integral Coach Building Factory near Madras. You see how all this goes on growing. It is an enormous growth. People do not realise it. I cannot say that every body in Government service is hard worked. But I do know that large number of people in Delhi, especially senior people dealing with responsible work, are very hard worked. I know in my Ministry of External Affairs we start early in the morning and we don't come home till 7 or 8 in the evening. It is an all-day effort and usually one has to work late at night also dealing with important problems. So this tremendous increase of work; secondly, the *nature* of work has changed. It is much more responsible work. It is not carrying out orders merely, but much more responsible work. Thirdly, the work has become more and more *social*. The planning, the whole planning machinery, the Planning Commission, is *new*—with its big structure behind it. So you see how both the *quantity* and the *quality* of our work have changed and the *direction* in which it goes has changed.

“Further, there has been a very big change—progressive change in the relationship existing between the Services and

the people. Now in the old days the Services were a class apart from the people depending on the goodwill of the British Government and they were not dependent, of course, on popular goodwill; and in fact you might say that the public interest and the Services' interests were not identical always, though sometimes of course they were.

"In the case of some Services, let us take the Police for instance, the average reaction of the public was hostile to the Police. The poor policeman had to deal with difficult problems. Sometimes a policeman may have misbehaved but even if he behaved well the public reaction was hostile because it was hostile to the Police as such. The Police came in conflict. All those things become completely wrong under present conditions. From the side of the Police there should be the realisation that they always not only serve the people but seek their co-operation. From the side of the public there should be this notion that these people, the police force as a whole is serving us. A police force is essential in a country, it is absolutely necessary, and we should utilise its services and help them and co-operate with them in the detection of crime or anything evil that happens. I think that the relationship of the Police and the public in the last 5 or 6 years has changed greatly. The tension between the two, the dislike of each other is much less than it was. It has not gone completely yet and sometimes it is possible that over some matters people get excited or are excited. But we must realise the basic fact that any one can misbehave. It is obvious whether he is a policeman, or a member of the public or member of any profession—an individual may misbehave and misbehaviour should be dealt with, should be punished. But to consider the Police as a whole as something evil is just childish nonsense. It is absurd. Because, it does not matter what Government there may be, they are bound to have a police force, an efficient and loyal police force; otherwise it is no good. Therefore, we have to change our old attitudes and develop new attitudes.

"Basically the attitude has to be, I repeat, as between the Services whatever they are—whether they are civil or military or police or anything else, they have to be one of active co-operation with the public, of active service to the public and on the public side also the same of welcoming that co-operation and giving their co-operation too. In fact, the so-called barrier, the so-called dividing line which in the past divided the officials and non-officials should cease to be. We still use

these words "official" and "non-official". They have ceased to have any meaning today. What am I? Am I an official or non-official? (Laughter). I do not know. I have been now for 8 or 9 years in the Government of India, obviously in an official capacity. Therefore, I am an official (Laughter). On the other hand, because I am not a member of any permanent or impermanent service (Laughter), I am a non-official (Laughter). Really these lines have no meaning, now except for some statistical data somebody is compiling, and these lines should go. That is, in effect, there should be a blurring over when they meet; the official must feel more and more as a non-official and the non-official should feel not as an official exactly (Laughter) but as one who is working in partnership with the official people for the same objects. Now this kind of thing, you can observe this happening today, in the Community Projects, in the National Extension Scheme where the whole essence of that project, and the success of the project, depends on how far the officials connected with it function as non-officials and how far they can draw out the co-operation of the non-official elements of the people or the villagers or anybody. If the official who is in charge cannot do that, it just does not matter how clever or able he is, he is not suitable to that task. The test is his capacity to draw out people, draw out the co-operation of the people in the village wherever he is working. That of course applies to every official, but more so in planning, more so in constructive and development work because there is something that has got to be done not merely in the routine way but in the creative way. So the whole outlook of official and non-official has to change and fitted.

"We talk nowadays about a socialistic structure of society. Obviously that structure cannot take place, cannot develop, just by some legislation, although legislation helps. But it really means building up a complex society. Society is very complicated with innumerable relations. Socialism is not a law. It is a structure governing production, distribution, mutual relationships, transport, everything. Now, that takes time. It just cannot be done by a resolution or by a decree. It may take less time or it may take more time. But first of all one should be clear in which direction one is going. If we are going in the right direction it is all well. We can speed up our process. Speeding it too much sometimes really results in delay. That is to say, if you try to speed

it up too much the structure may crack and the cracking of a structure means delay. You have to mend; you have to do something. Therefore, you will find that even in the biggest revolutions—or so-called revolutions—that have occurred, it has taken years and decades to build up the new society. The revolution did not build up. The revolution only removed obstacles to the building up. That is the most it could do. If an autocratic monarch is the obstacle we remove him. If something else is an obstacle that is removed. Having done that, then comes the slow laborious process of building up a new society.

“Let us take Russia, the Soviet Union. A great revolution took place there 38 years ago. We look at the picture now and we see great achievements there. We like some things and we do not like some things,—but that is neither here nor there. I am merely talking about the achievements. We see considerable achievements there in 38 years. If you go back you will find that the first ten years or more were not spent in building up but in struggling out of the morass of a revolution and civil war. It took these 10 to 12 years just getting out of the problems which had followed the revolution and gradually, then, they started their first five year plan, I think about 15 years after the revolution. Now they have their 5th or 6th five year plan. I was telling our Russian guests the other day that they had got 30 years start of us. Exactly 30 years. Their revolution came in 1917. The change-over in our country, our Independence, came in 1947, just 30 years after. I said, “you have got 30 years start of us but we hope to catch up in our own way”.

“Now, therefore, the Services must gradually cease to think of themselves as some select coterie apart from the rest of the people. They must think of themselves as part of the people of India co-operating in this great adventure of building up India. Of course, whatever your Services may be, you have your service problems; certainly you should consider your own service problems, deal with them in a co-operative way. That is a different matter. But let not your service problems overwhelm your mind and make you forget what your major task is. The Services are not meant for the sake of the Services—they are not meant only to provide employment to people. They do provide employment; of course, they should. But they are meant to get a job done—not just employment—to get something done. If you are

not doing that something, then you are not serving your purpose. You are functionless, though you may be drawing a salary (Laughter). Therefore, you have to look at how to get that job done. Of course, there are many other considerations which come in. For instance, we have a problem on the one hand of enlarging the scope of employment widely—there is plenty of unemployment in the country. On the other hand we have the difficulty in many offices that there are far too many people—a nuisance. Such numbers bring down efficiency. It is probably better for us to pension them off—and let others do the work. It is better to pension off people and give them something adequate so that they may not just come in, encumber, and get in the way of the work of others. Of course, all these are temporary problems. That is to say, as our social, industrial and other work increases in scope it will go on absorbing more and more people till ultimately we hope that there will be no unemployment or, if there is, it will be what is called fractional unemployment of a few people for a short time. But in the meanwhile, we have to pass through this difficult period of transition. Inevitably in this difficult period, there are maladjustments and many people unfortunately suffer. We should try to reduce and to lessen that. But one cannot avoid it. It is just beyond our power to prevent all that happening. We have to go through the hard way. Every country has. If you consider these countries where there have been great revolutions, you will remember that the amount of suffering that occurred in those countries was something tremendous. They may have achieved—they *have* achieved—many good things in their advance, but it was at a terrific cost and we try as far as possible to avoid that cost. We try to advance peacefully to avoid the tremendous cost and suffering of conflict and violence. But some cost has to be paid in social change. If we change the land systems of India as we have been changing them, inevitably, the people who had vested interests suffer. We do not want them to suffer. It is not our desire. But they have to suffer because they came in the way of the mass of the people.

“Now another thing : in the old days our Services were graded in various ways—even now they are graded I believe. They were the all-India Services, Senior and Junior, Grades 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, etc. Now obviously, in any kind of work there are different types of work, and some work requiring

highest responsibility. Take the army. It is no good my saying that our Commander-in-Chief and the private in the army should be put on the same level, and made to do the same work. They *are* different types of work. The private in the army—the soldier—is a very fine soldier, it is true. But I can't ask him to command an army. He has not got the knowledge and experience or ability to do it. He can't do it. So as in the military it applies to other jobs, too. Take a big engineering job. I want an absolutely first class engineer and it makes no difference to me whether another man with 20 or 30 or more years is very senior. If another man is a first class engineer that another man will be given the job and not the man of seniority. It is quite clear, because we want to get the good men. If I cannot get a good enough man in India I will have to import him from Germany, Japan or Russia or America because I want a man who can do the job. Fortunately we have got plenty of very good engineers. But still, sometimes we have had to import men with great experience for the big jobs. In the next stage, I do not think it will be necessary for us to get any engineers from abroad because our engineers are so good and they have got the experience now, even for the biggest jobs. But what I am saying is : one must distinguish.

"In the British times there was very much of what might be called the caste system in the Services; the British, of course, being the topmost caste of all. That is, there were rigid lines of distinction between various grades of Services and nobody could cross that barrier as a rule, though very rarely one might. The first barrier originally was between the British and the Indians. Then a few Indians were allowed to creep into the British region and gradually that grew. But even in the lower ranks, as you know, there was this caste system in the Services and the various grades of Services. Now, that is a particularly bad thing. There is one thing that is quite essential; that is that according to function, according to the quality of work, one has to put a man in charge who has the capacity to do that job, and who has the training and experience to do it. Naturally he will have greater responsibility but that does not mean that as a human being he is superior to another human being. That does not mean that he belongs to a higher caste than another—Service caste I mean and not the other;—the other is bad enough, but to bring it into the Services is worse.

“So we have to get rid of this feeling of ‘casteism’ in Services and that again, I will repeat, does not mean that we should put stupid people in charge of responsible work. All our work will suffer. We have to keep up standards. Our standards generally speaking, by and large, are fairly good compared to any service standards and administrative standards in other countries. They are quite good. We want them to be better still. In some places there has been a tendency for them to go down, largely because of this excess of work, suddenly vast numbers of new people coming in without experience, without those standards and other things. But it is quite essential that standards of work, and standards of integrity should be kept up, because without them naturally one cannot go ahead fast and all our work becomes tainted work and there is a feeling that it also results ultimately in a lack of faith in the Services on the part of the people, which is a bad thing. We must have faith. In the Services, like in any other groups, there are good people, and bad people; there are dishonest people and honest people—every type. Now that means that where there is a dishonest person, where there is an inefficient or incapable person, one should deal with that individual as such; one should not blame the whole Service. One should not blame the whole community and say that it is bad because one individual or two or ten are bad. We should deal with individuals. For the rest, it becomes the duty of every person for his own sake, for the sake of the Service and if you like, for the sake of the country, to maintain certain high standards of work, of efficiency, of probity and integrity; thereby, ultimately, he gains too, as well as others.

“As I told you our work becomes more and more social and economic. The person who is becoming more and more important today is the engineer, the technical man, the scientist. In the old days, the person who was most important was the administrator. Now I do not mean to say that the administrator has become less important. Of course, he is important. He has to deal with human beings. He must be a man with experience and judgment and all that. But the fact remains that the other types of specialised workers like the engineers and the scientists are becoming more and more important. It may be that you can get an administrator relatively easily; it is very difficult to get an absolutely first class engineer or a first class scientist. He is rare like every high class specialist is rare. There is a tendency, again

derived from the British days, of treating the administrator at the top as far superior to a person engaged in any other occupation like engineering, science or education or anything. That is not a good tendency. Because, today our country is becoming more and more technical minded. That is a sign of progress. We are going to turn out more and more engineers, educationists, scientists and the like and the future of the country is going to depend, I might say, more on the scientists and the engineers than probably on the administrators. Of course, it is rather difficult to distinguish and say that it should depend more on this, or more on that, because the future of a country like India or any country depends on a multitude of activities, on a multitude of specialists, experts, experienced men, men of wisdom and the co-ordination of all these activities which results in the particular work that we are doing.

"We are getting out of our old rather simple agricultural civilisation, which has its virtue. Undoubtedly the simple agricultural civilisation had a certain virtue and it had of course many failings. But any how, it was a civilisation of poverty, it was a civilisation of scarcity, it was a civilisation of co-operative effort in the village working together with many good points. But we just cannot have that because we want to get out of this rut of poverty; our population increases fast. That again reduces our levels, unless we produce more. So today we are entering the industrial age, the scientific age, the technical age, where the scientist and the technician and the technologist and the engineer play a vital role in our society. Today we find some difficulty in finding employment for thousands and thousands of our young men or women who become B.As. There is no difficulty in finding employment for 10 thousand overseers today if you produce them. That is the difference that is taking place in India. We have a technical institute at Kharagpur. Every person who is trained there, before he leaves the institute, has got a job. There is a demand for trained technical people, while every person, you know very well, who leaves the college as a B.A. does not get a job today. It shows that the education of the college is not quite fitting in with the new technical requirements of the present day. Of course, vast numbers of people are now being trained technically in India; much larger number than previously, and in various ways, grades of training,

so that the whole character of our Services is changing now. They will change in the course of next 5 or 10 years. Our Services will become more and more technical services. Even the administrative jobs will gradually be occupied by technical-minded and technically-trained people and that will be a sign of advance again.

"So that, we are living in this dynamic age in India. India today is a dynamic country, and we have to be wide awake. Now, one fault of what has been, in the past, normally called "service mentality" is that it largely sticks to certain routine and it is not to that extent a dynamic mentality. It is rather a static one. I am not referring, of course, to individuals; but any profession, any group of human beings working along precedents, tends to become static. Nobody is more static than the lawyer. He is always working on some precedent of a Law Court laid down previously, (Laughter) and producing rulings and the rest. That is the static mentality. And the service man also tends to get a static mentality because he goes according to precedent.

"In every country, in every people, there are two types of forces at work. One is what might be called continuity, continuing traditions, continuing habits, continuing structures of society, continuing beliefs and the like. That is a powerful cement which holds society together. We in India have this sense of continuity in a very powerful degree and that is what has made us function together for the last thousands of years. That other force is that of change which is the reverse of continuity and it is equally essential or more essential because, as I said some little while ago, anything that has ceased to change completely is dead. It is only death that stops change. Everything that is living, whether an individual or a social group, or a nation, if it is alive, is constantly changing. It may be changing slowly or it may be changing fast. When you have a big revolution, that revolution means a sudden break with the past, the tremendous break cracks up and then you start the change. But you will find soon after the revolution how the old past creeps in again and the people who come later in the revolution link themselves up with the old past. Look at the French Revolution. A tremendous affair in its time and yet 10 or 20 years later, France went back to a large extent to its old habits, although some of the gains of the revolution and land reforms, etc. were kept. Take other revolutions. It is surprising how after

a major revolution the old sense of continuity creeps in. The old sense of continuity is represented largely or in a way by, shall I say, *nationalism*. Take the Soviet Union. It has been a tremendous revolution upsetting everything, and the changes of the revolution subsist undoubtedly in many ways. Yet Russia has during the last few years become very nationalistic. The old heroes of Russia of 500 years ago are the present Russia's heroes again.

"So you see how these two processes of continuity and change which are really contradictory to each other function. Sometimes, too much continuity will become static, will become weak and there will be no progress. Too much change may shake up and break up the structure completely and then you have to pick up the threads of continuity again. So that, one has to balance change and continuity. If there is a peaceful process of change, the balancing becomes easier, provided it does not become too slow. Then, of course, if it becomes too slow the other factors come in which tend to upset the balance. Anyhow, this wider question of change and continuity in all our nation's life or any nation's life might be considered from the very much narrower point of view of the Services. You have to keep both, a sense of continuity and a sense of change to adapt yourself to present conditions.

"Above all, finally, the Services—whether they are all-India Services, whether they are State Services—have to remember that the basic need in India without which no great thing can be done at all is the building up of the unity of India. That is quite essential and I want you to realise that. You all talk about it of course, but I want you to realise it in all its importance and essential nature. Whatever we have achieved in the past 30 or 40 years in our struggle, and in the last 8 years of our Independence has been because, in a large measure, we have pulled together in India in spite of fissiparous tendencies and forces which disrupt. I think every member of the Services, whatever his service may be, must understand and appreciate this, must understand that it is his duty to work for the unity of India, to break down barriers which come in the way of the unity of India and always to be a crusader in that behalf.

"Here, coming back to Kurnool after two years and looking back at things generally, we have had plenty of

reports of what is being done in this and other States—I am happy to see not only the actual evidence of progress which one sees but much more so, by the atmosphere that I find here—a progressive, a self-confident atmosphere of achievement and of going ahead (applause). So, I congratulate you all upon it and wish you prosperity for the future.”

—————

“We should never make the mistake of thinking, that we can never make any mistakes. The bitterest critic is bitter, because he has some grudge, fancied or real, against us. We shall set him right, if we are patient with him, and, whenever the occasion arises, show him his error or correct our own, when we are to be found in error. So doing, we shall not go wrong. Undoubtedly, the balance is to be preserved. Discrimination is ever necessary.”

—MAHATMA GANDHI

(in a speech on November 28, 1947. Quoted from
Shri D. G. Tendulkar's MAHATMA, Vol. VIII, p. 255)

History and Precedent vs. Reform

Paul H. Appleby

[This note was recorded by Mr. Appleby during his second visit to India in 1954 and is reproduced here in full for the benefit of our readers.—Ed.]

A VERY intelligent Chief Secretary in one of the States in India remarked to me that he is a conservative regarding administrative reform because in his observation there is always a good reason for the traditional ways in which business is handled. I have often made similar statements, stressing the fact that human institutions are themselves the principal repository of learning about the conduct of human institutions. Institutions do embody, in their workways, the learning of past experience derived from the interaction of those internally and externally concerned. Consequently, these workways merit more respect than the layman or the touring expert might at first imagine.

It is true, in consequence, that too drastic a change, or change merely at the demand of amateur observers, may be more damaging than helpful, obscuring the working clarity of the familiar and creating too much confusion. It is also true, however, that institutions have high momentum along old and familiar courses and a corresponding inertia in respect of changing direction and method. There is consequent wisdom, not applicable to India alone, in the remark of the Governor of the State of the Chief Secretary already mentioned, when he observed that in India there is such addiction to the past that the danger of too rapid change in public administrative arrangements is hardly likely to arise.

A number of factors here point emphatically to the need for reform in administration. Among these, the following seem to deserve special mention :

1. The elements of interaction from which derives the wisdom determining institutional workways have themselves undergone drastic and sudden change in India. The nature of the interaction between Government and citizens here has been fundamentally altered. The interaction between

India and Britain, which long was determining in a very basic way, has become much more abstract and mutual, while the interaction between the Indian Government and the people of India has become determining, insistent, diversified and pervasive.

In this connection, let us consider the single matter of mail from citizens to Government. The increase in number of personal calls on ministers and officials is almost as impressive, and both in the matter of letters and in the matter of personal visits, what has developed up to now is as nothing compared with the probabilities of the future as education spreads and the dimensions of concerns of citizens greatly increase. Even now, the trickle of mail to one of the States from the Prime Minister's office, passing on communications from citizens, was the first major problem presented to me by the secretariat of one State. Everywhere, administrative staff has stressed the great diversion of energies occasioned by the many inquiries of citizens, legislative members and ministers. It is fundamental to the values of democracy that all such communications get careful attention. Yet it is plain that their certainly larger dimensions of the future cannot be at all well handled without extensive administrative reforms, of which necessary increases in staff, though considerable, will be incidental to reform in workways.

2. Present workways are crucially tied to a basic concern for precedent. It is rather commonly recognized that the function of the "assistant", who writes the "first note", is crucial. It is not so commonly understood that the instructions and work method orient the assistant primarily to a citation of precedent. In most organizations and in most matters handled, familiarity with precedent can almost be taken for granted; it is the primary equipment of all concerned below the level of the minister. An almost exclusive orientation to precedent in note-writing at subordinate levels orients the whole administrative process away from adjustment and imagination. This orientation to precedent is closely related to succeeding items in the listing of factors calling for attention to reform.

3. Inherited disinclination to delegate, to consider administration as literal execution of orders and to think of policy decision-making as issuing orders, to confine subordinates by too many and too precise rules, and to limit both

inter-organizational and public communication to a few as empowered to "commit Government":

All of these tendencies combine to produce an attitude toward all decision-making which regards it as too final and unchangeable. A great deal of light can be shed on the administrative process and on the pursuit of democratic values by scrutinizing decision-making in terms disclosing how many decisions by and in behalf of democratic government are in fact tentative and highly subject to change, and how many decisions *should* be tentative and revocable. It should be seen that in good administration decisions become final—or effectively final—only by not being subsequently modified. Modification should not be an occasion, normally, in which anybody loses face but merely as the means by which the process of decision-making is refined and kept responsible. When this view is taken, the willingness to permit many minor subordinates to sign letters to citizens and otherwise to exercise discretion can be very greatly increased.

In any properly conducted organization there cannot be any very satisfactory, comprehensive categorization of subordinate discretions, fixed in rules, and any attempt to define subordinate authorities precisely deadens the administrative process. In the end, the only principle that stands scrutiny is that decisions are made at the lowest possible level where there is willingness to assume responsibility for having made it. Even when such a principle is accepted, the great difficulty will not be in subordinates exercising discretion dangerously but in the disinclination of subordinates to assume responsibility. The discipline of responsibility, the discipline of organization, the unease of top persons, the timidity of subordinate persons will combine to force too many decisions to come to too high levels. Delegation succeeds only where there is a constant effort to stimulate, encourage and utilize subordinate responsibility. This is the effort which does most to make very great, high-level responsibility manageable and real. Top responsibility is at its greatest where it enlists the support of numerous subordinate responsibilities.

4. The movement of paper and other forms of communication too frequently through all perpendicular levels of responsibility where any theoretical concern may be thought to exist, and lateral movement of communication similarly too

frequently to all units and ministries in which some theoretical interest or prerogative may be thought to exist, or to be claimed :

The movement of papers downward to assistants who will initiate work looking toward a decision need not proceed through all intervening levels, except in rare cases where the papers do contain information of importance apart from the decision to be formulated. The responsibility of upward levels becomes a factor of significance usually only as the movement toward a decision is under way—and this occurs as the papers move *up* the hierarchy. The lateral movement of paper should take place more often—when it takes place at all—at subordinate levels, without first moving up one hierarchy and down another one. And many cross-references are futile gestures to a concern that is not real enough to require the time now spent on it. Cross-references should be made only when there is a really substantial basis for concern in another ministry. In this connection I have in mind two quite distinct orders of papers. One order comprises routine or petty or technical matters in which the other ministry has no real wisdom to add, and where the action contemplated by the originating ministry impinges in no important way on the activities of the second. The second order of papers is comprised of cross-references that are necessary under present rules and procedures but inherently and unnecessarily impair responsibilities of programme ministries. In this second order come such matters as detailed Finance control of expenditures, too detailed control by Finance, Public Service Commission, Home Affairs or other organization of many personnel transactions, and too detailed scrutiny of development projects by the Planning Commission. In general, there should be more confinement of these general agencies to *programme* considerations, and less involvement in review and control of *projects* and *transactions*.

5. Inadequate use of competition among personnel for promotion, too infrequent promotion in many instances, too little promotion by merit and too much by seniority. In general, too little use of incentives to develop and demonstrate competence, and too much confinement to fixed notions about cadre structure and size, special service identity and size. Altogether, too little attention to development of the potentialities of subordinate personnel, and too little anticipation of the personnel needs for many more and more able persons

as the work load of government goes up in the course of its success and assumption of new responsibilities :

The very worst feature of the present administrative system here, I think, is the consistently very bad morale of subordinate employees. Morale is worst, of course, among those persons at these levels who are most frustrated because of a sense of having capacities for work of a more difficult nature and personal needs—associated with their education and cultivation—considerably beyond their incomes. Much of the frustration is also associated with the absence of opportunity for self-expression and dignity. Subordinate employees here are rather generally treated with disrespect. I have been told by many that they are excluded even from recognition and admission to full membership in employee unions. They get sharp directions to do this and that but have no sense of participation in the exciting business of revolutionary India. They live in fear of those higher up, and on the rare occasion when a higher-up visits their office to give some instruction or reprimand stand as deferentially at attention as the peons and guards do on the much more numerous occasions when an “officer” or minister walks down a hallway.

In the post offices, in district sub-offices, in agricultural extension and in many places, these subordinates are the persons who carry the programme and spirit of the new India to the people in programmes actually undertaken and not merely verbalized. It is not surprising that it is at these cutting edges where corruption is most common and where personal disgruntlement is the great handicap in the way of pushing on the programmes ministerially conceived.

This is bad enough now, but every year that passes will see the ill effects pyramided, because each year the government will need more able persons in first, second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth levels. Where are they coming from if not primarily from the organization of government itself? The universities cannot be expected to turn out people ready made for high and intermediate posts. The Government needs desperately to turn attention to development of existing and incoming personnel, and it needs desperately to improve morale. The present condition sweeps back to the universities and fans unrest there.

I can find little evidence that these matters are getting much attention, and particularly little evidence that there has

been much thought about systematic utilization of *incentives* to better performance.

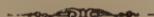
No foreigner can offer very sensible suggestions about specific pay scales, and I shall not attempt that. But perhaps I can make some general observations about incentives, and suggest that the subject be given much more thought here.

The ranging of reward from starvation at one end of the scale to millions at the other end, long characteristic of capitalistic economies in their private sectors, is fundamentally absurd, of course, and greatly changing. But even so, governments of capitalistic nations have no need to copy private patterns or to extend the range of income differentials so widely. In a way, perhaps still rather vague, the general attitude in India is more fully up-to-date than in most other countries. Here as in the United Kingdom a generally equalitarian trend does leave room for reasonable and useful differentiations in reward which have great administrative advantages. But here thinking in these terms has been confined rather too exclusively to the areas related to taxation and the private economy, with too little attention to the constructive use of systematic incentive systems in public organizations. Governmental pay scales and promotion practices have not had here the reconsideration they deserve.

I should like to see here, among other things, an administrative system more open to experimentation, less precisely and uniformly in force in all sectors of Government at all times. One of the experiments I should like to see would be in the use of experimental pay scales. There are two areas in which, I think, experimentation is most warranted. One is the level of "assistant", where some of the better men might be selected for special pay increments, and the results later carefully appraised. The other area is that of the "village level worker". In a nation where so many needs press so hard, it is very hard to fix priorities, but it seems to me clear enough that first priority in the development field is in the area of village achievement. There, at the level of the village worker, even this soon in the programme are signs of a dissatisfaction which can prove in time to be ruinous. I hope that experimentation there can be on a rather broad front, and evaluation of the experiment made in terms largely comparative with other types of activities rather than wholly within the

village programme. As a visitor, for whatever it is worth, I am greatly impressed with the needs at these two points.

Incentives, even in economic terms, are not confined to basic pay level, but to rates and frequency of increments, to ceilings, and to promotion possibilities. It must be remembered too that incentives are not nearly all economic. Recognition, attention, and praise are far more useful than adverse criticisms and rebukes.



“Do not.....think of your prospects only. Leave the fruits of your work to God. While we were fighting against foreign rule, we put great emphasis on the rights we had yet to acquire. But now when we have won our rights, we should think more of our duties. Rights are born of duties. Duties well performed will ensure rights. Therefore, if you work in this spirit, you will give a worthy account of yourself.”

—RAJENDRA PRASAD

(Quoted from a speech to the members of the Indian Administrative Service, delivered on October 10, 1950)

Towards a Programme Budget

Rana K. D. N. Singh

BUDGETING, like any other aspect of governmental administration, is largely influenced by tradition and past usage. In the days when the volume of revenue and expenditure was moderate and the range of governmental activities limited, the budgetary system in use in India served well enough. During the last few decades, there has been an enormous increase in development and welfare activities of government and a considerable expansion of State revenues and expenditure. But though the size of the budgets has greatly increased, the method of budgeting in this country has remained unchanged. The Central and State budgets now represent voluminous tomes in which the laymen, the legislators and sometimes even the administrators have difficulty in finding their way. Discussions on the budget estimates in Parliament and State legislatures largely revolve around the budget speeches of the Finance Ministers. Few legislators have the time, the inclination and the technical knowledge to enable them to comprehend the mass of figures composing the estimates.

There is hardly room for doubt that the *existing system* does not meet the *present needs* of the country. An endeavour is, therefore, made in this article to present a fresh approach to the problem of devising a budgetary system which will serve the purpose better.

II

Under the existing budgetary system the heads of expenditure are classified largely by *broad and general objects of expense*—a classification designed primarily as an instrument of financial control. Though important schemes involving large capital outlay or revenue expenditure are mentioned individually and “explanatory memoranda” are occasionally added to show the reasons for the proposed new outlay or variations, the budget document is mainly confined to giving only such details as are relevant or useful for financial control. It only shows what sums are to be spent on

particular items such as pay of officers and establishment, allowances, contingency, cost of supplies and equipment, etc.

There is a tendency on the part of the Departments framing budget proposals to simplify their own task by sticking as close as possible to the previous year's estimates, increasing or reducing them here and there as required. Further, as the existing budgetary method does not give any indication of the actual accomplishments expected from a certain volume of expenditure, a "vicious circle" is set up; the Finance Departments make flat percentage cuts in the estimates proposed by the spending Departments which, in turn, deliberately provide inflated figures anticipating such cuts and Finance Departments, not unintentionally, assume that all estimates are inflated and go on imposing cuts.

The principal defect of the present system of budgeting is that it does not convey as much information as it should : it does not show estimates in terms of physical programmes of action, nor priorities in expenditure, nor costs per unit of work or cost-benefit ratios. Nor is much information available about the objectives of many of the departmental activities; even such information as is given is not in a form which would aid in appraising the impact of government activity on the national economy. With the enormous growth in developmental projects and non-regulatory activities, many significant projects get submerged under the plethora of sub-heads and minor heads. In short, the present system neither helps us to evaluate the effectiveness of the state welfare activities in terms of cost nor does it assist in economic analysis and planning.

III

At a time when we are going to embark upon a second five year plan of economic and social development, it is imperative that we should reshape the budgetary tools to meet its needs. The essence of planning is to define the goals to be achieved, assess the resources available and select from among alternative programmes particular schemes or programmes which can best attain these goals. The comparative evaluation of different schemes and programmes before, during and at the close of the period of the plan, is a necessary accompaniment to sound planning and such evaluation

necessitates an improved method of budgeting—a programme budget.

Programme budgeting is a comparatively new development. It has proved very popular in the United States where it has been adopted in many large cities and a number of States. Certain Federal departments in the United States, notably the Department of the Army, have taken to this method. The fact that programme budgeting is still in the process of being evolved would facilitate its adaptation to the particular circumstances of our country.

What is a programme budget? Essentially, it implies that the budget statement should indicate the actual achievements expected by a Ministry or a Department over a period of time as a result of the expenditure of funds on a certain pattern. It should focus attention through the various programme allocations, on the main questions of public policy, the desirability, the size and cost of the projects to be implemented rather than upon the administrative details. The essence of the programme budget lies in its explanation of the activity patterns and work programmes of the Department or Ministry to which it relates. The cost of each programme or scheme and its corresponding benefits are placed in their proper perspective so that a comparative assessment of projects can be made in regard to both the cost and the benefits to be realised. For example, in the case of a nationalised road transport, a programme budget would give figures regarding the milage covered, the cost per mile, the estimated number of passengers, and the number of buses, waiting rooms, and refreshment rooms per passenger. Take another aspect of developmental planning in this country today—road construction programmes. A programme budget here would show in respect of each major road project, information such as miles to be covered, volume of goods, etc. to be transported during a year, area of the "feeder basin" and the number of people likely to be benefited, cost of construction per mile and the like. Many of these details are, admittedly, taken into consideration at the time of obtaining financial sanctions to particular schemes, but such information is not at present supplied to the legislators and the people in general when the budgets are presented to them.

A programme budget approach does not rule out the existing budgetary procedure and the information and material

contained in existing budget statements. It should rather be considered as an additional statement, *representing* the information contained in the existing budget statements, *in terms of work programmes*. This broad 'activity' statement of any particular department would, in any case, have to be supported by detailed sub-statements showing, the various items and sub-items forming part of any project and the manner in which the costs have been calculated. These sub-statements would be more or less similar in form to the existing budget documents though the classification of heads and sub-heads would require to be modified considerably. What programme budgeting involves, therefore, is not a radical departure from the existing budgetary methods but a reorganisation of the existing procedure to meet the requirements of changed circumstances.

IV

For many government activities, especially in the development sphere, the work-programmes can easily be set in terms of measurable units. In respect of certain development heads of expenditure, such as agriculture, education, community projects, medical facilities, roads, etc., it should not be difficult to break down the budget allocations by work-programmes, to evolve units of measurement and to fix performance targets in terms of these units. For instance, in respect of primary and secondary education, apart from showing the basic targets such as the number of schools, the number of teachers, the percentage of students, etc., it is possible to show the financial aid given per pupil during any particular year and the targets to be achieved in the next and subsequent years. To take another example, suppose a scheme is introduced for giving a glass of milk free of charge to all primary school students at half-time break. The work-programme statement should give comparative figures and targets in respect of schools participating, funds distributed per school, the number of pupils affected, the percentage of the total number of pupils, the number of glasses of milk served, etc. Similarly, in the Community Projects and National Extension Service Blocks, it should be possible to indicate the targets of achievement per villager in respect of the aid given for each aspect of extension activity. Again, the comparative targets achieved and those sought to be achieved can be given. In regard to medical facilities,

calculations are already made on the basis of bed-strength in relation to populations, and cost per bed. These can be further expanded and subdivided to cover various medical schemes.

Broad targets in the case of most development activities are already prescribed and these will be developed further in the course of the finalisation of the Second Five Year Plan. These targets are, however, much too broad for any detailed programme evaluation in cost-benefit terms. It is necessary to follow the process of breaking down targets and costs up to the smallest sub-programme and then to assess the cost-benefit ratio. The planning process has made a beginning in respect of the selection of target units; programme budgeting would carry this process much further, ultimately assisting the planning process.

To the extent that the end-products of certain departments are not measurable by any means, the scope of programme budgeting becomes somewhat limited. A substantial portion of administrative expenditure covering many items which do not lend themselves to quantitative measurement, comes under this category. Again certain facilities such as fire brigades, etc. are specifically designed to meet emergencies if and when they arise; and the amount of work performed in such cases is not, therefore, a measure of their significance. Similarly in research projects and the like the actual results achieved may be a poor index of the amount of work put in. There is, thus, a fairly wide field of governmental activities where targets of achievement cannot be effectively measured. In such cases though it is not possible to define the end-targets and measure actual performance in precise terms, it may still be feasible in most cases to develop significant measures of work-load of subsidiary activities, adding up to the end-target. For example, the volume of different categories of correspondence receipts dealt with might be able to give some indication even though it is not possible to evaluate the work of a Government secretariat in physical terms.

As the methods of measurement are improved and as new means of calculating hitherto non-measurable items are worked out, some of the difficulties experienced at present in respect of items which do not admit of quantitative measurement will largely be resolved. The process cannot, however, be carried too far due to difficulties in regard to the weights to be assigned to subsidiary activities for arriving at the

end-targets and the voluminous data which would require to be collected and processed.

The usefulness of programme budgeting will, therefore, remain restricted in the case of non-development, administrative departments. It is with the developmental heads of expenditure, therefore, that a beginning should be made in respect of programme budgeting. The various programmes and sub-programmes in the developmental sectors can not only be easily translated into measurable targets but there is also in these fields a great need of presenting financial estimates in terms of work-programmes. Later if found necessary and practicable, the programme budget can be extended to fields such as civil administration, police, etc., but initially the programme budget need only be confined to development matters.

V

The introduction of programme budgeting in India would present certain difficulties and involve a number of changes in the existing budgetary practice. The important stages in a shift to programme budgeting are dealt with below :—

The *first* phase to introduce the programme budget method would cover a review and analysis of the current activities of each Department in terms of specific programmes and operations and to divide up the programmes into fairly distinct sub-programmes.

The *second* stage would involve determination, wherever possible, of performance units in terms of which programmes and sub-programmes would be measured and targets of accomplishments or performance fixed in each case. The units of measurement should serve as common denominators both for the costs and the benefits.

The *third* step in the switch-over to the programme budgeting would be a substantial revision of the classification of accounts—the heads and sub-heads of expenditure—so that the accounting system falls in line with the programme-wise allocation of funds. The basis of accounting should be, what may be called the ‘activity’ account. In this context, the term ‘activity’ would mean the smallest possible sub-division of the work-programme. For each ‘activity’ the estimated

expenditure would be shown against certain broad, standardised sub-heads, which, by and large, can be adopted for most programmes. Only the totals would be shown in the programme budget, the details under each sub-head being indicated in the administrative budget. A classification on these lines would not only clearly indicate the cost of any 'activity' and enable a comparative evaluation of different work-programmes in cost-benefit terms, but would also constitute a better way of keeping accounts and watching the progress of expenditure.

The programme-budget approach would also involve the calculation of unit costs in respect of various developmental programmes. Standardisation of unit costs, though practised to some extent in most Governmental departments, would have to be more comprehensive than at present. The various cost factors which receive scant attention must be duly taken into account. Detailed cost accounting, however, is not an essential feature of programme budgeting; though wherever in vogue, it should be fully utilised. The problem is more that of statistics rather than of detailed cost accounting, and it undoubtedly necessitates accurate and upto-date statistical information over a wide field.

The programme budget can now be drawn up. The budget should define the general objectives and scope of activity of each branch of the administrative organisation such as a Ministry or Department, and then proceed to deal with each programme or sub-programme. For each sub-programme, the physical targets of achievement and the cost per target-unit should first be given and thereafter the estimated expenditure should be indicated along certain broad sub-heads.

VI

As already observed, the programme budget would not replace the existing administrative budget but would only supplement it. The existing departmental budgets would continue to be prepared as at present but with certain modifications. The classification of expenditure should be the one adopted for the programme budget. While the programme budget would give the revenue figures in broad outline only, the administrative budget should set out full details for each source of revenue and sub-head of expenditure. In respect of activities which cannot easily be translated into measurable

terms and which are not covered by the programme budget, the administrative budget should also give all such background information as would be of interest to the legislators and taxpayers.

The shift to programme budget would not be easy by any means. It would make budgeting more of a technical process and also necessitate the merging of the planning and budgetary processes; the actual stage at which the two should merge being a matter of detail but merger at some stage being necessary to gain the full benefits of sound budgeting. Again, while Central guidance and assistance would be absolutely necessary, the different States would obviously have to be allowed flexibility in working out of a programme-budget approach best suited to their needs. A completely uniform classification and procedure to be followed by all States would neither be desirable nor practicable in the long run.

The implications of adopting a programme-budget approach for this country as for any other country are very far-reaching from the administrative point of view. Only such an approach can, in the opinion of the writer, meet the very pressing need for a complete reorientation of the budgeting and accounting systems and the challenge which the changed circumstances—a manifold expansion of development activity and an enormous increase in the welfare functions—are presenting to the administrative machinery in this country.

Public Service Examinations— A Peep Behind the Scenes

N. S. Mani

EXAMINATIONS all the world over have held a certain mystic quality. It is not merely the ultimate result in terms of success or failure but the mechanism of the process itself and how it operates that are often the subject of considerable speculation. This is especially so in the case of examinations for recruitment to services and posts under the Government. In very many cases, the unsuccessful candidate gives himself up to the belief that either the questions set for the examination were too stiff, or one or more examiners had not been vigilant enough to notice all the answers attempted by him, or the examining body had committed some grievous error in transferring the marks from the scripts to the tabulation sheet. It is indeed remarkable how many requests examining bodies receive from unsuccessful candidates for "further scrutiny" of scripts. More often than not, the approach has no more justification that the marks belie the candidate's expectation and so "there must be some mistake"! I can recall a case where, after the result of an important examination had been announced, a candidate enquired how it was possible that, in the same subject, he could have failed to reach the qualifying standard in the lower paper when he had been given high marks in the higher paper. To the bulk of the people, and to the candidates especially, the "inside story" of examination is, therefore, still very much of a mystery. An attempt is made in this article to explain briefly the basic principles and the procedure adopted in the conduct of examinations for recruitment to the public services.

The conduct of examinations is indeed a very complicated affair. It requires a good deal of advance planning and attention to detail at every stage, especially where the examination has to be conducted simultaneously at several centres all over the country and abroad. Above all, secrecy has to be scrupulously maintained with regard to the names of examiners, arrangements for printing question papers

and the custody of the papers until they are distributed to candidates on the day appointed for the examination in each subject, as also in respect of the valuation of scripts. These are exacting requirements when a number of examinations have to be conducted each year and a very large number of candidates have to be examined in a variety of subjects and the standard varies from one examination to another.

The examining bodies, at least for the higher services and posts under Government, are invariably the Public Service Commissions set up under the Constitution at the Centre and in the States. This itself should afford sufficient guarantee of the high objectivity and impartiality of the selections made. There is all the more reason that the Commissions should satisfy themselves that the *internal checks and safeguards* provided are adequate to ensure that every candidate gets a square deal.

The first obvious step for the examining body is to settle a scheme of each examination in consultation with the appointing authority. The details of the scheme would depend on the requirements of the service to which recruitment is to be made. These in turn, must be related to the duties and responsibilities the selected candidates will be expected to assume. It is a recognised feature of all examinations that in addition to the special knowledge needed for the particular service, the candidate should be tested from the point of view of general education and intelligence, critical faculty, ability to think clearly and to express thoughts briefly and effectively in the official language. This is at present done through certain compulsory papers on General English, English Essay and General Knowledge. For the higher administrative services, it is necessary to recruit candidates with high academic attainments. The syllabus for the examination thus has to include a large number of optional subjects from which the candidates can make their choice in accordance with their own chosen field of study. The number of such optional papers a candidate is required to select is also related to the degree of importance attached to the particular examination. For instance, in the examination for the Indian Police Service, it is considered sufficient for the candidate to select two such optional papers. For the higher Central Services, three optional subjects have to be chosen. For the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Foreign Service, the candidates are compelled to take no less than five optional

papers selected from a group so made as to compel the candidate to go outside the range of subjects which he may have studied at the University. For purely technical services and posts, however, the range of optional subjects is often restricted to a small number from the scientific and allied technical fields.

Having decided on the common and compulsory papers and the number of optional papers that should be provided, the aggregate marks to be set apart for each such paper have to be settled. In doing this, care must be taken that undue weightage is not given to any one paper or category of papers. The proportion between the aggregate marks for the compulsory papers and those for the optional papers also needs to be carefully looked into because, in a competitive examination, candidates must know beforehand how they should prepare themselves and what degree of attention should be paid to the various subjects which they select.

The syllabus in each subject has to be related to the standard of the examination, which in turn depends on the age-groups to which the candidates are restricted and the educational qualifications demanded of them. For example, the Matriculation standard may suffice for selection of candidates for a clerical service from the lower age-groups up to 18 or for admission to the Indian Navy, the National Defence Academy and the Military College, whereas, for higher ministerial and supervisory posts and for the superior administrative services, nothing less than a degree of a recognised University would do.

The rules laying down the conditions of eligibility and defining the scheme of the examination and the syllabus in each subject are generally published at least six months ahead of the probable date of commencement of the examination, and applications are called for simultaneously. At least eight clear weeks from the date of advertisement are generally allowed before the last date for receipt of applications. Candidates residing abroad are given an additional fortnight.

The next step is to appoint suitable persons to set and moderate the question papers and to evaluate the answers. The examiners should be men of high intellectual calibre, integrity and circumspection and of a high standing in the academic world, preferably with recent personal experience of handling students in the age-groups from which candidates

for the examination would be drawn, and having knowledge of their average mental development and capacity. The examining body maintains a panel of examiner s drawn up on the above considerations in consultation with universities and teaching institutions of repute. Selections are invariably made from such panels, but, in rare cases outside or *ad hoc* examiners are also taken if necessary. For maintaining uniformity of standard from year to year and ensuring that the questions fall within the prescribed syllabus, a set of question papers used for previous examinations is furnished to each examiner for his guidance. A time-limit is also set for the receipt of question papers in manuscript from the examiners. The necessity for drawing up a time schedule covering each stage of the examination and strictly adhering to it cannot be over-emphasised. In the interest of maintaining secrecy, the examining body has also to issue instructions explaining fully the precautions that should be taken by the examiners. For example, the examiner may have to be told that he should not retain a copy of the question paper set by him and that he should furnish a certificate to the examining authority, along with the question paper, that no such copy exists. Generally no examiner should require more than a fortnight or at the most three weeks to complete the task assigned to him.

After their receipt from the examiners, the question papers are referred to certain other reputed scholars or experts in each branch of knowledge for an opinion as to the suitability of the papers from the point of view of the prescribed syllabus, the standard of the examination and the time allowed to candidates for answering the papers. The names of these "moderators" cannot be divulged even to the examiners, for obvious reasons. They should, however, be persons whom the examiners themselves would have no difficulty in acknowledging as being competent in every respect to assess their work and express an opinion upon it. It must be open to the "moderator" to suggest amendments to the questions set by the examiners or to themselves carry out the amendments or even to propose a fresh set of questions if the amendments would be too many. The work of moderation has also to be completed within a reasonable time, a fortnight being the usual limit. The papers are then finally considered and approved by the examining body.

In selecting examiners and moderators, their regional distribution has to be borne in mind. It may not be desirable to have too many examiners or moderators from the same region. The examining body has to ensure absolute fairness and impartiality in all phases of the examination process and to provide safeguards even against unconscious bias creeping in. Also, as a measure of ordinary prudence, all examiners and moderators, before the work is actually entrusted to them, have to be asked to certify that no one in whom they are interested would be appearing for the examination, to the best of their knowledge. If any of them is unable to furnish the certificate, it is only proper that he should decline the work offered to him.

A necessary security precaution is to furnish to each examiner, moderator or any other person who would be handling the manuscript or printed question paper at any stage of the examination, a specimen impression of the seal the examining body would be using, even before the paper is despatched by post or by any other means, and to require such persons to communicate to the examining body by telegram immediately on receipt of the paper whether the seals used on the packets had been found intact. In fact, the proper and expeditious handling of secret correspondence is the greatest among the worries the examining body has to face.

The next stage is the receipt and scrutiny of applications. Each application on receipt is numbered either by machine or by hand and that number is assigned as the roll number of the candidate. It has also to be verified simultaneously whether the prescribed examination fee in the shape of a Treasury Receipt or a Postal Order has accompanied the application. The application is then taken up for detailed scrutiny with reference to the prescribed conditions of eligibility. The time consumed in this process necessarily varies in accordance with the importance of the examination, the number of candidates who apply and the staff available. Generally speaking, the examining body takes about two months for the scrutiny of applications received. Each application is invariably acknowledged and the roll number communicated to the candidate. In cases of doubtful eligibility, the admission of a candidate is treated as provisional until after the necessary further

enquiry has been made. Refunds of the examination fee are made to candidates whose applications are rejected.

Soon after the publication of the rules action is initiated in the matter of selection of the venue of the examination. The examination may be held at more than one centre, not only within the country but also abroad. The decisions at this stage are bound to be tentative but have to be taken, nevertheless, on the basis of an intelligent anticipation of the number of candidates likely to appear at each centre. Correspondence on the same basis has also to be commenced in regard to accommodation and services of supervisory personnel at each centre. The final selection of the venue or venues at each centre can be made only after the number of candidates who have been admitted to the examination at each centre is known. The detailed arrangements at each centre, including the choice of invigilators and the number of answer books and other material to be supplied to the centre, have to be completed as soon as possible after completion of the scrutiny of applications by the examining body.

The number of copies of each question paper to be printed would also depend on the number of candidates admitted to the examination and the subjects they offer. Where the number of candidates is large and there is a wide choice of subjects, arrangement of the time-table *i.e.* the fixation of the dates for particular papers becomes very complicated and difficult. The use of mechanical sorting equipment where available can simplify the process and ensure accuracy. Such machines are, however, very expensive. The printed question papers have to be obtained at least three weeks before the scheduled date of commencement of the examination so as to allow sufficient time for comparing them with the manuscripts and for packing and despatching them to the various centres. The supervisor in charge of each centre is asked to acknowledge the sealed packets of question papers at least a week before the examination is due to commence. Here again, the necessary security precautions have to be observed.

Admission certificates to candidates have to reach them at least a month before the commencement of the examination; otherwise they would be put to needless anxiety and might also find it difficult to make adjustments in their programmes sufficiently in advance.

In the actual conduct of the examinations at each centre, the supervisor and the invigilators have to be guided by certain standard instructions drawn up by the examining body. The object is threefold : to provide for the safe custody of the sealed packets of question papers until they are opened and distributed to the candidates, to ensure close and effective invigilation during the examination and to see that the scripts are duly verified and despatched to the examining body, along with a full statement of account relating to the number of printed question papers and the quantity of scripts and other material actually used up out of the total supply made.

The next stage is the valuation of scripts. The work is ordinarily entrusted to the examiner who has set the paper. But it may happen that a very large number of candidates have taken the examination in that paper and a single examiner cannot value all the scripts. As a general rule, an examiner cannot value more than 350 or 400 scripts without excessive strain upon himself, if the result of the examination is to be published without undue delay. However, the appointment of additional examiners brings in its wake a number of problems. One examiner's standard of valuation may not be the same as that of another, and it becomes very important, therefore, that suitable steps should be devised in order that uniformity of the standard may be maintained. For this purpose, the examining body asks the examiner who has set the question paper, whom we shall call the head examiner, to draft such instructions as he may consider necessary for the guidance of the additional examiners. These instructions will be in addition to the model answers which too the head examiner is asked to provide wherever possible. As a further precaution, each additional examiner is required to send the first 25 scripts valued by him to the head examiner for comments, and to revise the valuation of those scripts and take up the valuation of the remaining scripts in the light of such comments. Where the examination is for recruitment to an important service and, therefore, calls for more than ordinary care in the maintenance of uniformity of assessment of the scripts, a conference of the head examiner with the additional examiners is arranged, and a free exchange of views on the question paper and the principles and procedures to be followed in the valuation of the script takes place. A few scripts actually valued by each additional examiner are

also jointly discussed. A check, on a random sampling basis, by the head examiner, of scripts valued by the other examiners is also resorted to for ensuring uniformity of marking.

After all the scripts have been returned after valuation by the head examiner and the additional examiners, the examining body is in a position to tabulate the marks awarded to each candidate in each subject. The tabulation has to be done with the greatest care and at least two independent checks may be necessary beforehand to ensure that all the answers found in the several parts of each script have been valued and the marks have been totalled up correctly. If any portion of the script has escaped valuation, or there are grounds *prima facie* to suspect that the examiner had not applied his mind adequately to a particular answer, the entire script is sent back to him for further scrutiny.

Before the examining body produces the final result, some further checks are applied in order to be absolutely certain that the necessary uniformity of the standard of valuation has been in fact attained. A comparison is made of the averages of the percentage of marks awarded by each examiner and by the head examiner in each subject, and, if in the same subject there is a marked variation in the averages of the different examiners, the reasons therefor are looked into closely. Generally, the scripts relating to a particular centre are sent for valuation to examiners residing in some other part of the country so that local influences that may come into play at each centre are completely excluded from the awards given by the examiners. The examining body knows which scripts have been sent to which examiner. If, therefore, the average percentage of marks awarded by any one examiner is appreciably above or below the averages of other examiners in the same subject, the first line of investigation is to examine how the same candidates have fared in other subjects. Should their performance in the other subjects be equally good or bad, the inference that can be drawn is that the variation in the average of that examiner is due rather to the comparatively superior or inferior mental equipment of the candidates, as the case may be, than to the operation of any personal element of the examiner concerned. If, on the other hand, these candidates are neither better nor worse than the others, the examining body has to moderate the marks awarded by the examiner.

so as to raise or lower the average to the level of the general average of the rest of the examiners. In attempting such moderation, the examining body takes also into consideration the averages pertaining to the same subject in the same examination for the previous two or three years.

The final result, arrived at in this manner, is the basis for the selection of candidates to fill the vacancies notified. In an open competitive examination, it would appear sufficient at first sight to select as many candidates as there are vacancies from among those who obtain the topmost positions in the order of aggregate marks secured by them. Actually, however, the procedure for selection is not so simple as that. For every examination, there has to be a minimum qualifying standard or a standard of minimum suitability depending on the intrinsic requirements of the service. That is to say, unless in the opinion of the examining body a candidate has given sufficient proof of basic fitness to be admitted to the service, he cannot be grouped with other candidates of the same category for the purpose of a competitive selection. It is theoretically possible, even though it seldom happens in practice, that even the highest aggregate of marks obtained by a candidate at the examination may fall below the qualifying standard. Selections are, therefore, subject to the candidates' attaining the qualifying standard or the standard of minimum suitability. Before making the actual selection, however, the examining body has to give special consideration to candidates belonging to the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes, for whom a certain percentage of the vacancies may have been reserved. It is open to the examining body to relax the qualifying standard or the standard of minimum suitability in favour of those candidates provided the maintenance of the efficiency of the administration would not be prejudiced thereby. The examining body selects at least 10 or 12 candidates in excess of the number of vacancies notified, to cover possible rejections on medical and other grounds.

For recruitment to important administrative services such as the Indian Administrative Service, Indian Foreign Service, Indian Audit & Accounts Service, the Income Tax Service, Class I and the Superior Revenue Establishment of Indian Railways and to such technical services as the Indian Railway Service of Engineers, the Central Engineering Service, Class I, the Telegraph Engineering Service, Class I, and the Survey of India, the written examination is followed

by a personality test. Candidates have to obtain a certain minimum percentage of marks in the aggregate of the compulsory and lower optional papers before they can be called for interview. This percentage is decided by the examining body well in advance of the date of commencement of the interview. It will be readily conceded that a certain qualifying standard has to be laid down to define eligibility for interview and all candidates cannot be summoned for interview as a matter of course irrespective of their performance in the written examination, judged by that standard. The examining body also lays down a separate qualifying standard for the personality test. Any candidate who fails to attain that standard in the personality test will naturally not be entitled to selection, however good his performance in the written examination may be. On this ground, doubts have been expressed in some quarters whether the personality test at all serves any useful purpose and, in any event, whether it should be given so much importance as to rule out candidates who may have done exceptionally well in the written examination. This, however, is entirely a different issue and does not fall within the scope of the present article.

That in brief is the "inside story" of examinations. The production of results neither belongs to the realm of fantasy nor is it derived from a whimsical approach; rather it is the culmination of a process which had commenced six months earlier with the publication of the rules and had been urged forward from one stage to another along the most rational and scientific lines.

Integration in Welfare Administration

S. P. Mohite

[In his article on 'The Structure of Development Administration' published in April-June, 1955 (Vol. I, No. 2) issue of this *Journal*, *Shri U. L. Goswami* argued against the integration, at the present moment, of the regulatory and developmental functions below the level of the Sub-Divisional Officer. *Shri Mohite*, in the present article, defends the application of the integration principle up to the *Gram Sevak*, a practice followed in the Bombay State. Both *Shri Goswami* and *Shri Mohite* have been directly concerned with the policy and execution in the field of community projects and development. We invite further contributions on the subject, based on the personal experience of others similarly engaged.—Ed.]

NOW that the Planning Commission have taken a decision to extend the National Extension Service Scheme to the whole country by 1961 and to convert 40 per cent. of the National Extension Service Blocks into Community Development Blocks during the same period, the question of setting up a proper administrative organisation for the Community Development and National Extension Service areas assumes great importance. Any errors that may be committed now will, in the course of next few years, magnify themselves manifold and the task of rectifying these will, by no means, be easy. In this context the Bombay system of 'integration', with its emphasis on transforming the existing executive and development machinery into a welfare agency, has evoked considerable interest and also some adverse criticism. To those critics of the Bombay system whose attitude is summed up in the dictum : "the best way to guarantee that a good man will not use a gun is to deny him the possession of the gun", one can only say that the logic of this argument can only result in creating division, very artificial and unnatural, in the functions of State at all levels. The supporters of this stand are perhaps happily few. By and large the greater majority of persons, associated with the administration of the Community Development and National Extension Service Programmes, may like to study the Bombay system in greater detail, and if an objective analysis of its working so justifies, to consider its introduction in their own States.

For proper appreciation of the Bombay system a brief description of some of its more important features may obviously prove very helpful to those not intimately acquainted with it.

In the Bombay State, unlike most other States, the boundaries of Community Development and National Extension Service Blocks are co-extensive with those of the existing administrative boundaries of *talukas*.* The financial provision for these Blocks is made in proportion to their population at the rate of Rs. 4.5 lakhs and Rs. 15 lakhs per 66,000 population in the National Extension Service and Community Development Blocks respectively. In other words, instead of carving out territorial blocks to suit population and financial provision, the financial provision is adjusted to suit administrative convenience. The *Prant Officer* (Sub-Divisional Officer) has been designated as *Prant-cum-Project Officer* in respect of a Community Development Block and the *Mamlatdar* (Circle Officer) as the Block Development Officer in respect of a National Extension Service Block. The *Prant Officer*, in whose area a National Extension Service Block is included, is also placed in charge of the National Extension Service Block. On the *Prant Officer*, under the overall control of the Collector and technical guidance of Heads of technical offices in the district, falls the main responsibility for initiating, supervising and controlling development activities. Delegation of administrative and financial powers on a considerable scale has been made in favour of the *Prant Officer*.

In order to give to the *Prant Officer* adequate relief on the revenue and general administration side, either his jurisdiction has been reduced from 4 to 2 *talukas* or an Assistant Project Officer (in *Tehsildar's* grade) given. For the same purpose the *Mamlatdar*, as Block Development Officer, is given the assistance of one or two Extra *Aval Karkuns* (*Naib Tehsildars* or Assistant Circle Officers). There is further a strong team of specialists, as prescribed in the Community Project Administration pattern, to provide the necessary technical knowledge and guidance at the headquarters of each Block.

* The sub-units of a Sub-Division of an administrative District in India are known differently in different States, e. g. *Tehsil*, *Taluka* or *Circle*. The officer immediately in charge of the sub-unit is referred to as *Tehsildar*, *Circle Officer*, etc. In Bombay he is called *Mamlatdar*.

At the village level, a new cadre of 'integrated' *Gram Sevaks* (village level workers) is formed by pooling together the existing number of Circle Inspectors, Agricultural Assistants and Co-operative Supervisors. As a result, where previously a Circle Inspector had from 20 to 25 villages, an Agricultural Assistant from 20 to 30 and a Co-operative Supervisor from 50 to 60, each of them, as an 'integrated' *Gram Sevak*, has now 7 or 8 villages within his area. The area covered by an Agricultural Assistant or a Co-operative Supervisor was so large that the villagers hardly felt his presence. The activities of the Agriculture and Co-operative Departments were also not linked up with those of Revenue Officers, which touched village life at many points. The 'integrated' *Gram Sevaks* are required to do revenue work in addition to development work under the National Extension Service and Community Development Programmes, and their work load will obviously be heavier than that of a Circle Inspector, Agricultural Assistant or a Co-operative Supervisor. In order, therefore, to reduce this work load, the number of such 'integrated' *Gram Sevaks* in each Block has been increased to the extent of requirements of each *taluka*, determined with reference to its population, number of villages, means of communications, backwardness, etc.

As adverse criticism has clouded many of the issues connected with this system, it is necessary to state some of its obvious merits.

First, the system is not an experiment. The Oxford dictionary defines an "experiment" as "a procedure tried on the chance of success or as a test". The Bombay system is, by no means, an administrative system adopted on the chance of success or as a test, but the logical and inevitable step in the evolution of the existing administrative machinery into a welfare agency. It may, perhaps, be more appropriate to describe those systems as "experiments" which seek to create a separate and parallel development machinery.

Secondly, the system does not seek to bring in the 'influence' of the Revenue Department in development work or to employ any non-extension methods. In fact, the cry of 'coercion' raised against the revenue officials in the Bombay State has been found to be baseless even by the critics of the system. It may reassure those who entertain any doubts

on this point to know that a recent Statewise probe by the Bombay Government to detect any authoritarian attitudes on the part of the 'integrated' *Gram Sevaks* could unearth only one such case—that of a *Gram Sevak*, who, instead of approaching people at their own houses, was sending for them at the village *Chaudi* (police post). In the circumstances, a constant harping on the theme of 'coercion' or loose talk of "revenue mentality" and "revenue methods" can only be taken to reveal a considerable ignorance of the significant changes which have taken place in most parts of the country since Independence. It is the hope of the proponents of the system—a hope not unjustified by current experience—that not before long all the revenue functions will also be performed by purely extension methods.

Thirdly, the system does not seek to abolish specialists at all levels, and to substitute them by multi-purpose workers. On the contrary, under the system, the cadres of specialists are strengthened at the appropriate levels, and efforts made to relieve them of many of the non-technical administrative functions which today reduce their efficacy as technical experts.

Fourthly, the system has not been introduced merely with a view to effecting economy in administrative expenditure and requirements of personnel, though in view of the limited resources—both in finance and adequately trained personnel—this aspect of the question cannot be entirely brushed aside.

The Bombay system is not a sudden administrative phenomenon. In introducing it, the Bombay Government have carefully considered the experience, gained in the past in the working of various experiments in rural development, conducted in different parts of the country such as at Sevagram in Madhya Pradesh, the Firka Development Scheme in Madras, the Sarvodaya centres in Bombay State, Etawah and Gorakhpur in Uttar Pradesh and other centres which are, perhaps, less well-known. These experiments led to the realisation that the functioning of a large number of departments at the village level was a hindrance to the development work. To quote the Planning Commission :

"When different departments of the Government approach the villager, each from the aspect of its own work, the effect on the villager is apt to be confusing and no permanent impression is

created. The peasant's life is not cut into segments in the way the Government's activities are apt to be; the approach to the villager has, therefore, to be a co-ordinated one and has to comprehend his whole life. Such an approach has to be made, not through a multiplicity of departmental officials, but through an agent common at least to the principal departments engaged in rural work whom it is now customary to describe as the village level worker."*

The necessity for a 'multi-purpose' worker at the village level was also realised and emphasised by the "Grow More Food Enquiry Committee" appointed in 1952. The decision of the Bombay Government, to integrate the functions of the main departments at the village level is, therefore, very timely.

In this connection, it is very instructive to recall the following views of Shri V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission :

"The significant thing about the administrative arrangements is that they aim at the transformation of the existing *general* administrative cadres of Government into Welfare Cadres rather than the establishment of a separate Welfare Cadre distinct from the normal machinery of the Government. This implies that the machinery which was at one time devised to look after the functions of revenue collection and maintenance of law and order is being changed into a Welfare Administration and the resources of all Development Departments of Government are being utilised to the maximum advantage for a concerted attack on the problem of rural development."†

The 'integration' effected by the Bombay State is thus both a natural result of experience of welfare work in the past and is in consonance with the views of the authors of the National Extension Service Scheme.

* "First Five Year Plan", p. 223.

† "The National Extension Movement", p. 11, CPA, March 1955.

Equally important with the above reasons for introducing the 'multi-purpose' worker at the village level was the urgent need for the re-orientation of the administrative machinery. The Bombay Government strongly felt that without a change in the outlook and structure of the basic administrative machinery no programme could be expected to make a permanent contribution to the welfare of the people. The aim of the Community Development and National Extension Service Programmes was therefore as much to bring about a transformation in the administrative machinery as to create a similar change in the attitude of the rural population. It was also recognised that the latter change could best come about only when the executive officers of Government at all levels occupied a position not so much of well-wishing observers but of active participants. To the critics who were inclined to say that human nature being what it was such a transformation could not be effected, it was pointed out that the Community Development Programme itself was based on the faith that it was possible to bring about necessary changes in mental attitudes of the people.

The 'integrated' system of administration has been functioning in the Community Development and National Extension Service Blocks of the Bombay State now for two years and though this is too short a period for making any sweeping generalisations, it is possible to enumerate some of the trends which are clearly discernible. A single line of administration from the *Gram Sevak* to the Development Commissioner has resulted in a considerable increase in efficiency and consequently in the tempo of development activities. A high degree of co-ordination between the activities of various Departments has been brought about, thus avoiding overlapping and 'frictional loss' within the administrative machinery. The villager is no longer bewildered by the multiplicity of departments at the village level, and is beginning to feel that a development machinery capable of delivering the goods, is in the process of creation. Lastly—this is a result to which the Bombay Government attach the greatest importance—a process of gradual transformation has already begun to take place in the administrative machinery, giving rise to the hope that, in the near future, an administrative machinery completely suited to the needs of a Welfare State would have been evolved. The system, therefore, even in so short a time stands completely vindicated by the logic of results.

In his article entitled "The Structure of Development Administration" published in the second issue of *The Indian Journal of Public Administration* Shri Goswami has stated : "Combination of functions, regulatory and developmental, in the same functionary is a bit of an administrative tight rope-walking in the case of all persons. It is a question of degree. But the difficulty is infinitely greater at levels below that of the Sub-Divisional Officer. A time will come when further extension of this principle of integration will not be impossible but there are clear indications that the time is not yet" (p. 117). To expect that such a transformation can take place at a later stage, when the administrative structure has become enlarged and the creation of two hierarchies has created psychological barriers in the way of 'integration' is, to say the least, optimistic. The psychological difficulty is as real as the administrative one and if we allow two official hierarchies to develop—one with an attitude "holier than thou" and the other with an outlook "wiser than thou"—and thus bedevil the life in our villages, the chances of a sound and effective system of welfare administration evolving amidst this confusion are slim indeed. If transformation of the existing administrative machinery into a welfare agency is one of the major accepted objectives before the country today, a decision to introduce 'integration' on a countrywide basis should not be further delayed.

Public Service Unions in the United States

Anand K. Srivastava

WITH the growing expansion of governmental activities in welfare and development fields and increase in the number of public enterprises, employer-employee relations in government have assumed a special importance. The question is how are employer-employee disputes to be settled when the government is a party to the dispute : through an administrative fiat, through legislative action, or through collective bargaining with employees' organisations? Every country has to find its own answer to this question for itself in the light of its own systems, traditions and circumstances. But it is always useful to know what answers other countries have found. In this article an attempt has been made to set out what appears to be the current thought and practice in this regard in the U.S.A.

II

According to the U.S. Bureau of Census the federal, state, and local governments in the United States excluding the armed forces, employ roughly six million men and women. This is almost twelve times the number of coal miners or five times the number of railroad workers in that country.

In private employment, the freedom to form unions and to bargain collectively for better employment conditions and the right to strike in certain circumstances, are recognised generally and are subject only to the federal and state laws on the subject. But in the case of public servants, because of the special position of the state in society, the government maintains that it must have the right of determining finally all relationships between it and those who earn their livelihood by serving it.

In practice, this assertion does not wholly work out. The Lloyd-La Follette Act of 1912 conceded federal employees the right to organise and affiliate with outside labour movements. Public employees do influence their conditions of

work by lobbying in the Congress and by other processes akin to collective bargaining. Sometimes they strike too, though this right is seriously questioned as running counter to the nature of the state.

III

Sometimes it is argued that the state which is the sovereign authority in society and which, in a democracy, represents the collective will of the whole community should be allowed to perform its functions unhampered. The unionisation of the public services might lead to situations in which the state's work is obstructed and its authority defied. A little consideration shows that all governmental activity is not related to the sovereignty of the state. Some functions like law enforcement, defence, and foreign affairs obviously fall in that class; but others such as maintenance of postal services, provision of schools, colleges and hospitals, transport and communications services, etc., quite obviously do not.

The activities of the second type performed by the government are similar to those carried out by private organisations in trade and industry. The government does not give more to the community by performing these activities than do the private operators. The point is forcefully illustrated when an industry like coal is nationalised. The nature of the coal miner's work does not change overnight. There seems little logic in allowing the right to organise for some trades in private industry and denying the right in similar government industries.

Nor does the inconvenience to society caused by a stoppage of these secondary services to society by a strike of public employees seem to be the appropriate criterion for forbidding unionisation. "A strike of privately employed milk drivers in a large city would no doubt cause more inconvenience than a strike of municipal park attendants."*

In the field of the sovereign functions of the state, the right to organise may well be denied on the ground that the uniqueness of these governmental functions do not admit of any interruption. But here again if certain private services

* Spero, Sterling D., *The Labour Movement in a Government Industry*, p. 11.

like the telephone or telegraph or city lighting, are broken down by strikes the sovereign functions of state, like law enforcement, would still be crippled.

In a democracy it seems better to fix the conditions of service of public employees in consultation with them, than autocratically through an administrative fiat. This is not a negation of the state's sovereignty, as it only amounts to laying down a method to carry out its functions. The state always retains the power to replace this method in favour of some other one. It is somewhat like having a Civil Service Commission to make appointments in the merit system—the Commission's presence is not an abridgment of the power of the legislature.

Perhaps the only services where the right to organise or strike can unquestionably be denied are the armed forces, services charged with the maintenance of order, and essential services. Indeed the right to associate is one of the basic freedoms which cannot be denied to any class of citizens and even if the state wishes to do so it could not prevent public servants as such from forming their own associations. That does not, however, mean that the association is recognised as a trade union empowered to engage in collective bargaining. In practice, employee unions are well established in the postal and clerical forces of the federal government in the U.S.A. and in government corporations. They also exist in large cities and states with permanent staff. The system of collective bargaining is prevalent over a very wide field in the public services though the position regarding the right to strike does not appear to have received judicial clarification.

IV

Before discussing the achievements and the limitations of public service unionisation in the United States, it would be useful to take a close look into the process of collective bargaining which is the medium through which unions operate.

Collective bargaining is the procedure by which an employer or several employers, and a group of employees agree upon the condition of work. Collective bargaining is primarily concerned with wages, but it also extends to hours of work, compensation for overtime, conditions of hiring and firing, and a great many similar matters.

Collective bargaining does not guarantee to the employer a continuous supply of workmen, or to the employees a satisfactory number of jobs. It only determines the terms and conditions in which the work under the employer is accepted by the employee. The job contract is still between the individual workman and the employer.

The history of collective bargaining and labour unions is inseparable, for there can be no joint negotiations on the terms and conditions of work unless the employees are organised to present a unified demand. This requires a union, and is true whether the employer is a single capitalist, a large corporation, or the state.

Some aspects of collective bargaining in private industry are obviously inapplicable to public service agreements. Thus the closed shop would be illegal in public service, nor would the state ever check off union dues compulsorily from the pay roll. The right to strike is the ultimate weapon of the employees in private industry, but its validity in public service is still doubtful. "So far as is known, courts have never been called upon to pass directly upon the right of government employees to strike."†

"The essence of collective bargaining", in the public service, "lies not in the scope of the matters under the employing agencies' control, or in the form in which the agreement is published but in the attitude of the parties towards the process of free negotiations, give and take, and discussion of issues leading to an understanding which both sides intend to carry out."*

It is in the independent jurisdictions like the Tennessee Valley Authority that collective bargaining has developed most successfully. Collective bargaining has strengthened executive responsibility here.

Government corporations cannot function without a large degree of freedom in their day-to-day affairs. Once this principle is conceded, a free hand in labour relations

† White, Leonard D., *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, p. 461.

* Spero, Sterling D., *Government as Employer*, p. 350.

follows. If the management uses its freedom to fix wages and conditions of work arbitrarily, it cannot get away with it for long. Ultimately the workers must carry their appeal to the legislature over the head of the administrator. Frequent interference of the legislature with the administrator will only hamstring the management, limit its discretion and lower efficiency. But where collective bargaining results in workers having a voice in the determination of working conditions there is no need to appeal to the legislature. Joint consultations strengthen the hand of the executive. As President Roosevelt once observed, "collective bargaining and efficiency have proceeded hand in hand in the T.V.A."

Collective bargaining and unionisation of the federal employees have made some fundamental improvements in personnel practices and working conditions. The presence of the unions is reported to have served as a check on inroads into the merit system. They have also accomplished the passage of the Classification Act of 1923 and the Welch Act of 1928; the repeal of the personnel provisions in the Economy Act of 1932; and have played an important part in support of the Ramspeck-O'Mahoney Postmaster Act of 1938, the Reorganisation Act of 1939, the revision of the Retirement Act and the Pay Acts of 1940. The unions have thus led the way towards the development of a co-operative administrative organisation which is essential for a democratic government to achieve.

On the positive side of collective bargaining must also be counted the fact that government workers frequently harm the public service considerably by failing to call their grievances to public attention. Between 1893 and 1919 the increase in average salary of federal employees was 20.5% while the retail prices of food rose by 159%. This must have resulted in a failure to attract able personnel and led to a heavy turnover both of which must have harmed the federal service more than a strike.*

The great danger of collective bargaining and unionisation is that they may lead to a concentration of political power at a most dangerous place. The fear that unity

* Spero, Sterling D., *The Labour Movement in a Government Industry*, p. 34.

created by public service unions may lead to an entrenched bureaucracy irresponsibly dictating to the legislature is not a new thing. As far back as 1867 Disraeli feared that the enfranchised civil servants might use their political power "illegitimately to increase the remuneration they received for their services".

Employee organisations which become too powerful or come under the domination of extremist elements can also force the civil servants into improper political activities, destroy their impartiality and corrupt public life.

The concentration of political power in the hands of public employees could lead to undesirable results in another direction. This would be tying up the hands of the Executive. It has been observed that public employee unions have generally shied from the exercise of administrative discretion. They overstress the security aspect of employment and favour rigidity in administrative process for protection of their members. The unions have also resisted speed-up policies and efficiency measures.

Perhaps the worst thing brought to light by half a century of public employee unionism is the over zealousness of the employee organisations to defend their members in all circumstances. What influence this will have on discipline and administrative efficiency should the unions succeed in having their way, can only be imagined.

V

Public service unions in the U.S.A. have to contend with a number of practical difficulties in carrying out collective bargaining and negotiation in public employment. The "white-collar" government workers are at a disadvantage in that they do not know who exactly to bargain with, for improving their conditions. In a great many immediate matters it is no doubt the administrative head of the government department or agency who is the employer. But his authority is strictly limited. Some of the procedures he follows are laid down by the Congress, others by the Civil Service Commission. The administrative head is not in a position to make a final commitment on behalf of the Government as a private employer's agent can.

In the circumstances, the employee union turns from its immediate employer, the administrator, to its ultimate employer which is the Congress. They lobby and try to win the support and bring organised pressure to bear on government through the legislators.

But the public servants have a real difficulty here. The legislative process in the U.S.A. is slow and cumbersome. Years may pass before anything happens. The legislature is too preoccupied with more vital affairs of the state to pay heed easily to civil service reform. Besides, the average politician is not very interested in the civil service because the merit system has restricted his patronage. Two further disadvantages operate. The legislator is apt to cash on the general distrust of the "bureaucracy", and the political disabilities of public employees make it impossible for them to advocate openly the reward or punishment of political friends or foes.*

On the whole, the picture is not all black. The public employee organisation can affiliate with the labour movement which helps them in securing approval of their requests by Congress, in appearances before legislative committees, and in publicity and aid for defeat of certain Congressional candidates.† The politicians sometimes become interested in public employee union movements when they feel that sufficient popular sentiment attaches with the movement. But the general disadvantages in dealing directly with the legislature are obvious.

One method of overcoming this disadvantage is the Whitley Council System developed in Britain. The National Whitley Council consists of 54 members, half of which represent the national staff side and the other half the national official side. The representatives of the staff side are only from employee organisations. The decisions are arrived at by agreement between the two sides, and not by votes. There are about 70 similar bodies in the various Government departments.

* Mosher, William E., and others, *Public Personnel Administration*, p. 335.

† White, *ibid*, p. 461.

There is, of course, no surrender of Parliament's authority to the Whitley Council. Unless the official side agrees there can be no agreement. The official side acts directly on orders of the Cabinet which is responsible to Parliament, so in effect the official side is making Parliament's commitment.

Under the system of "separation of powers" which obtains in the United States, it is difficult for the national Executive to give a commitment binding on the legislature. Since Congress frequently refuses to carry out the Executive's recommendation it is impossible, in the U.S.A., to adopt the Whitley System without modifications.

VI

The above survey of present thought and practice on the subject in the U.S.A. leads to the following conclusions :—

We must recognise that unchecked unionisation in the public service can threaten both the legislative and executive arms of the government.

With the ever-increasing numbers of government employees it is very desirable that the conditions of work in public employment are not determined autocratically by the government, but in consultation with the employees. This can most effectively be done by collective bargaining with independent employee organisations.

Yet the public service must operate for the benefit of the whole community and not for any section of it. The public service must not degenerate into comfortable sinecures for a privileged group of public servants, irresponsibly imposing their wishes on the community. The responsibility of seeing that this does not happen rests with the state.

Fundamentally the question posed is the old, old, question of how much liberty can be allowed to the units composing a free society. If the sovereignty of the government is unchecked all freedom is destroyed. If the right of the employees to influence the government in their own interest is unchecked, government, as we know it, is completely undermined. Balance,—the realization that in life there is

neither complete liberty nor absolute sovereignty—is the important thing.

Unionisation and collective bargaining wisely used will give further dignity to the government worker and make him a partner in the enterprise of running the government. Irresponsibly used, they will undermine both representative government and executive responsibility.



"All government employees should realize that the process of collective bargaining, as usually understood, cannot be transplanted into the public service. It has its distinct and insurmountable limitations when applied to public personnel management. The very nature and purposes of government make it impossible for administrative officials to represent fully or to bind the employer in mutual discussions with government employee organizations. The employer is the whole people, who speak by means of laws enacted by their representatives in Congress. Accordingly, administrative officials and employees alike are governed and guided, and in many cases restricted, by laws which establish policies, procedures or rules in personnel matters."

—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
(in a letter dated August 16, 1937, to
Mr. Luther C. Setward)

Why Metric ?

Pitambar Pant

[This is the first of a series of articles explaining the justification for the recent decision of the Government of India to adopt the metric system of weights, measures and coinage and dealing with the administrative problems which will arise in the course of the change-over—Ed.]

UNDER a recent Act of Parliament, the Government of India have assumed powers to adopt the decimal system of coinage. They have also, on the recommendations of the Planning Commission, recently announced their decision to standardise weights and measures in the country on the basis of the metric system. It is contemplated to effect the entire reform within the next 10 to 15 years. Unfortunately the matter has not received as much public attention as it merits, perhaps because the true extent of its far-reaching significance is not wholly appreciated. It is important, however, that the people should clearly understand *what* the reform means, what benefits will accrue from it and *why*, in a way, it is ultimately inevitable, and its early adoption, therefore, is a practical necessity. Such a comprehension alone can generate genuine enthusiasm in the people and evoke their willing and active co-operation which is essential for its smooth realisation.

It is common knowledge that the weights and measures in use differ from place to place in our country. Not only do they vary from one area to another, but even in the same area different weights and measures are used for different commodities. Some idea of this bewildering diversity can be had from information collected by the National Sample Survey, which conducts investigations throughout the country, twice or thrice a year on various topics of social and economic importance. The survey revealed that in 1,100 villages, scattered at random all over the country, as many as 143 different systems of measurements of weight were in use. The situation was reported to be even worse in respect of measurement of volume and land area. Even if certain terms are apparently in wider use, often, they in

fact do not represent the same weight. For example, there were observed 100 different *maunds* with weights in tolas ranging from 280 to 8,320, in contrast to the standard maund of 3,200 tolas. There were *sers* varying from 8 standard tolas to 160 tolas compared to the standard *ser* of 80 tolas.

Such chaotic diversity in the weights and measures, used constantly in the common transactions of daily life, is a source of much confusion and difficulty. Variations in weight from place to place prejudice the chance of the farmer getting a fair price for his produce in the markets within his own State as also in the other States. Prices of different commodities in different parts of the country are quoted on the basis of local weights. Since the names of the units used and the weights which each one of them indicates vary from place to place, the quotations are not understandable except by those in close touch with the markets concerned; and the farmer in his dealings is at the mercy of the skilful traders. He is further deceived very often by the buyer of his produce who replaces the lighter weights with the heavier weights in weighments. He is also overwhelmed by the complexities of calculations, which he cannot even follow correctly, to say nothing of working them out himself. The developments of marketing on sound lines, the introduction of grades and standards, and supplying price quotation to rural areas will be of little use if this chaos of varying weights and measures is allowed to exist. Space does not permit the recounting of the many disadvantages of the present situation but it is obvious that the inconvenience and harm resulting from lack of standardisation affects not only the farmers but all the people, except the unscrupulous few who exploit the situation to their own advantage. The only remedy is to set aside this multiplicity of local and regional systems of weights and measures and to substitute in their place a uniform system which should be easy to learn and use, and common throughout the country.

The need for this reform in India was recognized even a century ago and in fact the Government of India passed an Act in 1871 for standardising the weights in accordance with the metric system. Unfortunately no interest was taken to implement the reform and the confusion has more or less continued. The main significance of the recent decision of the Government is that it indicates a determination not to let

matters drift and to take vigorous steps to introduce a uniform system of weights and measures based on the metric system.

II

The blessings of metric standardisation to our country will be manifold. It will put an end to the confounding diversity of current weights and measures with all their attendant disadvantages, facilitate the widening of trade and commerce and strengthen national solidarity. This standardisation will be of value to the country in its foreign trade and commerce not only at the national level but simultaneously also at the international level. There are few examples of international collaboration as striking as the near-universal adoption of the metric system of weights and measures which is now the sole legal system practically all over the world except in the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth countries. Even in the U.S.A. and U.K. where the English system (also known as the foot-pound system) is the more common, the metric system has a legal status and is in fact increasingly coming into use.

A still more important blessing of metric standardisation is the tremendous simplification in calculations, of diverse kinds, brought about. It is the only system scientifically conceived as a simple, uniform and integrated system of weights and measures suitable for international adoption. It has not grown haphazard like, for example, our so-called standard *maund-ser-yard* system or the English system of foot-pound-gallon. The key to the simplicity and superiority of the metric system is to be found in its strictly symmetrical structure, systematised on the base ratio of 10 throughout, corresponding to the decimal place value notation in the representation of numbers. To understand why it is so, we have to delve a little into the history of arithmetic.

The ingenious method of expressing all numbers by ten symbols, each receiving a value of position as well as an absolute value on which our arithmetic is based, was given to the world by India about 1500 years ago, perhaps even earlier.

Previous to this remarkable discovery, counting and calculation was a most clumsy affair. In fact even as long as 500 years ago, calculations continued to be carried out in Europe through the Roman system of numbers. Numbers could be added and subtracted only by taking recourse to a

counting frame, the *Abacus*. What now appears to us a simple exercise in multiplication and division, within the competence of any school child, was considered in those days a problem calling forth advanced knowledge of mathematics. An effort to multiply XIV (*i.e.* 14) by LX (*i.e.* 40) in the Roman way will convince any one that the difficulties then experienced were inherent in the crude and inflexible numeration then in use. The discovery of the modern positional numeration did away with these obstacles. Because of its simplicity and the great ease which it has lent to all computation, this profound and important idea made possible the subsequent rapid advance in mathematics. It is recognised as one of the greatest advances in the march of human civilization.

As we all know, the system of numeration, now widely adopted, is a 'tens' system, the value of any digit in a whole number varying with its place in the number, starting with units at the right and increasing to the left in the order : unit, ten, hundred, thousand and so on. Each place-value is 10 times the place-value to its right. Thus 777 means 700 plus 70 plus 7. Simon Stevin's invention of the decimal point in 1585 extended the tens system to the right as to the left. It made it possible to decrease by tens as well as to increase by tens. Moreover, it made it possible to handle a whole number and a part as easily as a whole number was handled before; and most important of all it made fractions—so inconvenient to deal with—completely unnecessary.

The metric system amounts only to the application of the decimal number system to measurement. The word "Metric" is derived from "Metre" which is the basic unit of length and enters directly or indirectly into the units for area, volume and mass. All other larger or smaller units bear a strictly decimal relation to each other. The Metre is defined as the distance between two engraved lines on a bar of platinum-iridium alloy which is preserved as the standard Metre stick in the archives of the International Metric Commission at Sevres, near Paris. With this fundamental unit, metre, as the base, by simply multiplying by ten successively or by a similar simple process of decimal subdivision, has been built up a system of measures of length which has proved adequate for the needs of science, commerce and industry. For the multiples of its principal units, the metric system employs Greek prefixes *deca* (ten times), *hecto* (hundred

times) and *kilo* (thousand times); for the sub-multiples the Latin prefixes *deci* (one tenth) *centi* (one hundredth) and *milli* (one thousandth). With these six prefixes, used along with the three primary units 'metre', 'liter' and 'gram' and a more arbitrary unit 'ar' for area, it is possible to construct all the metric units in ordinary use.

An important feature of the system is the simple relationship between its primary units. The mass of a volume of pure water equal to a cube of the one-hundredth part of a metre is a *gram*. As the *gram* is rather small for most weighings, the *kilogram* is employed as a practical unit. The *litre* is simply the volume occupied by the mass of one kilogram of pure water.

III

The much greater convenience in calculation resulting from the adoption of the metric system, may be illustrated by some simple examples. Let us take a problem calling for the conversion of smaller units to larger ones in the English and the Metric systems :

$$157 \text{ inches} = 13\frac{1}{2} \text{ feet} = 4\frac{3}{6} \text{ yds.}$$

$$157 \text{ centimeters} = 15.7 \text{ decimeters} = 1.57 \text{ metres.}$$

In the English system to change inches to feet it is necessary to divide by 12 and since we cannot readily do this mentally, we have to work it out as a division problem and very often we run into fractions. To change feet to yards, we must divide by 3, a small number but here again we generally get into difficulties because we have to divide a mixed number, that is a whole number and fraction. In the metric system the conversion is simply a matter of shifting the decimal point one place to the left to get the next larger unit.

Take again the problem of calculating the capacity of some tank, the volume of water contained in it and its weight, as measured by the two systems. In English units the problem is : "Given a tank 8 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 6 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad and 4 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, filled with water, find (a) capacity of the tank in cubic feet, (b) the volume of water in gallons and (c) the weight of water in pounds." The same problem in terms of metric units will be stated as follows : "Given a tank 2.68 metres long, 1.97 metres broad and 1.31 metres deep, find (a) capacity of the tank in cubic metres,

(b) the volume of water in litres; and (c) the weight of water in kilograms."

In the English system we have first to reduce the measurement to inches to simplify calculation and then multiply these measurements of length, breadth and depth to get the volume in cubic inches. The result, $421076\frac{7}{8}$ cubic inches, has to be divided by the number of cubic inches in one cubic foot (1728) to get the volume in cubic feet. After a process of long division we thus arrive at 243.679 cubic feet. To obtain the volume in gallons, the volume in cubic inches has to be divided by number of cubic inches in 1 gallon (*i.e.* 231, a difficult figure to remember), and we get the result as 1822.843 gallons. To calculate the weight in pounds, the number of cubic feet has to be multiplied by $62\frac{1}{2}$ (the number of pounds in 1 cubic foot of water), which gives us the figure 15229.938 pounds. If any of these results is to be further reduced to smaller or larger units one has to resort to cumbrous multiplications and divisions by numbers such as 27, 1728, 4, 8, 16, 112, 2240.

In the metric system the volume in cubic metres is arrived at simply by multiplying, as decimal numbers, the three measurements of length, breadth and depth, giving directly the volume in cubic metres as 6.916 276. Since there are 1,000 litres in 1 cubic metre, by simply moving the decimal point by three places to the right, we get the volume in litres, which comes to 6 916.276 litres, and finally since 1 litre of water, by definition, weighs 1 kilogram, by merely changing the name, we get the weight of water as 6 916.276 kilograms. Conversion to smaller or larger units is, as we have already seen, a simple matter of shifting the decimal point.

Let us take a problem of working out costs, starting with corresponding units and determining the cost for smaller units. In metric units and decimal currency—

If 1 metric ton (of, say, silver)	costs Rs. 80,000.00
then 1 kilogram	costs Rs. 80.00
and 1 gram	costs Rs. .08
<i>(i.e. 8 naya paisas)</i>	

Whereas in English units and our present anna-pie coinage,

If 1 long ton	costs Rs. 80,000
then 1 pound	costs Rs. 35 as. 11 pies 5
and 1 ounce	costs Rs. 2 as. 3 pies 8

In metric units and decimal currency, the effort involved is limited to shifting the decimal point three places to the right for deducing cost per kilogram from cost per ton or for arriving at cost per gram, given cost per kilogram. In English units, to deduce the cost per pound one has to divide the cost per ton, by 2240—the number of pounds in one ton; further, as the rupee does not have decimal sub-divisions, to convert the fractional part of the rupee into annas and pies multiplication by 16 and 12 and division by 2240 becomes necessary at successive stages. For finding cost per ounce, the complex amount in Rs. as. pies, which is obtained as the cost per pound, has to be divided by 16, involving again much labour.

These are simple types of problems. There are many others which must be taught if the child is to be able to calculate in various kinds of measures. All these involve addition, subtraction, multiplication, division and reduction to larger and smaller units in each of the different and unrelated tables of measures (length, area and volume, capacity and weight). And we have the further misfortune of having to learn not only one system but several, local, Indian, English and Metric. The result is that our children learn less and take longer to do it than, say, the French, the Russian, the German or the Chinese children who use the metric system. Indeed, few even among educated adults in our country can readily cite the various tables of measures used in our daily life, and even fewer can handle with ease the bothersome calculations involved in their use.

IV

It is almost impossible to design a system more easily learned than the metric system. The simplification and increased efficiency in calculations would be carried over into every phase of life. To sum up, the superiority of the metric system rests on the following :—

- (a) The scientific character of the fundamental units of the metre, litre and gram and the simplicity of the inter-relations between them;
- (b) The simple decimal manner in which the multiplication and division of units of the same measure proceed and which makes the metric system easier to work with and facilitates simplicity in computation;

- (c) The smaller number of units in common use and the greater ease with which the names are learned and retained;
- (d) The greater convenience, the greater adaptability and greater comprehensiveness that a unified system of weights and measures provides; and
- (e) The international status which it enjoys, being used as the sole system in all except a few countries and parallelly used and legalised in the others.

V

It is obvious that the above advantages of the metric system are not conditioned by geography or race or language. They can be realised equally in China, U.S.A., France, U.S.S.R., Germany, Afghanistan, Indonesia, or England. If the last two have been clinging to the archaic, unscientific and cumbrous system of units—the English system—it is because that system is too deeply entrenched there. However, the advantages of metric system are so overwhelming that strong support exists for it even in countries which have not adopted it.

In 1821, speaking of the metric system, still in its infancy, the then U.S. Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams (later President of the U.S.A.) observed in his Report on Weights and Measures :

“This system approached to the ideal perfection of uniformity applied to weights and measures and whether destined to succeed or doomed to fail, will shed unfading glory upon the age in which it was conceived and upon the nation by which its execution was attempted, and has in part been achieved.....The single standard proportional to the circumference of the earth, the singleness of the units for all the various modes of mensuration; the universal application to them of decimal arithmetic; the unbroken chain of conversion between all weights, measures, monies and coins; and the precise, significant, short and complete vocabulary of their denominations; altogether forming a system adapted equally to the use of all mankind, afford such a combination of the principle of uniformity for all the most important operations of the intercourse of human society; the establish-

ment of such a system so obviously tends to that great result, the improvement of the physical, moral and intellectual condition of man upon earth, that there can be neither doubt nor hesitancy in the opinion that the ultimate adoption and universal, though modified, application of that system is a consummation devoutly to be wished."

"Considered merely as a labour saving machine, it is a new power afforded to man incomparably greater than that which he has acquired by the new agency which he has given to steam. It is in design the greatest invention of human ingenuity since that of printing."

From United Kingdom, we have the following testimony of Lord Kelvin, the noted scientist :

"I believe I am not overstating the truth when I say that half the time occupied by clerks and draftsmen in engineers' and surveyors' offices—I am sure at least one half of it—is work entailed upon them by the inconvenience of the present farrago of weights and measures. The introduction of the world metric system will produce an enormous saving in business offices of all kinds—engineering, commercial and retail shop."

Even though in these countries the metric system has not been adopted as the sole system of measurement, progressively in many sectors it has come to its own. Electricity, radio and electronics, pharmaceuticals and in several other fields the metric system has been making rapid inroads. The existence of two systems where metric alone would have served the purpose better, creates unnecessary confusion and waste of labour. In 1875 at the Russian Technical Society, Prof. Khvolson, prophesied the ultimate universal adoption of the metric system in the following words :

"The metric system is an elemental force impossible to subdue and to fight against it is sheer recklessness. Open the gates to it and it would come in as a friend, as a benefactor but if you close the door upon it, it would take you by storm as an enemy and would conquer territory inch by inch falling upon you through million chinks. It would be besieging on all sides and would step by step force you to yield positions to it. Against its invincible power you would have to lay down arms and would finally find yourself in a desperate position."

VI

The object of this article was to explain the reasons for the adoption of the metric system. It is realised, of course,

that so radical a change, however obviously desirable, will create administrative problems affecting all branches of public administration and organised business. To minimise the difficulties and inconvenience during the transition period a properly co-ordinated and phased plan has therefore to be drawn up and adhered to. For this purpose a Standing Metric Committee has been set up under the chairmanship of Shri Nityanand Kanungo, Minister for Industries. How the Committee has set about this task, what problems require solution and how it is proposed to tackle them, will be discussed in the subsequent articles of this series.

—*ENDS*—

“From the very beginning of scientific management, advance planning has been deemed the clue to successful results and research has been deemed indispensable to planning and execution. Great administrators and students of the subjects know how vital this is to effective administration.....As administration becomes more and more scientific, that is, as it advances in exactness of projection, forecast, and results, it will raise planning and research to a top position in thought and practice. Natural science and technology have done this with amazing effectiveness. Without the inquiry into relevant facts and without the blueprint, they would be on the level of astrology.”

—CHARLES A. BEARD

(in ‘an address before the Annual Conference of the Governmental Research Association, Princeton, in 1939’)

The Training of the Administrative Services in States

B. S. Khanna

IN an illuminating article published in an earlier issue of this *Journal* the institutional training of the I.A.S. probationers was described in detail by Shri S.B. Bapat. It would obviously be of interest to the students of public administration to know something also about the training of State Administrative Service officers who have to work along with the I.A.S. officers to run the general administration of the country. The present article describes briefly this training as imparted in the States of Punjab, West Bengal, Madras, U.P. and Bihar. A few suggestions have also been made about the reorganization of the training programmes in the States so that the administrators may be equipped more effectively for shouldering the heavier and more complex responsibilities which have devolved on them with the extension of the welfare functions of the state in India.

In the Punjab, the recruits to the Executive Branch of the State Civil Service known as probationary Extra Assistant Commissioners or E.A.Cs. are given detailed training in revenue and settlement work. They are required to acquaint themselves with the general outline of revenue assessment and collection as well as the maintenance of revenue records and the working of village administration. The Deputy Commissioner* entrusts this revenue training of the probationer to the Revenue Assistant. For judicial and executive training the probationer is put under the guidance of the Additional District Magistrate. He is also to familiarise himself with the working of the various branches of the Deputy Commissioner's office. Thereafter, he has to spend a few weeks in studying the actual working of Government Treasury—the receipts and disbursements of money

* The Principal Executive Officer in charge of a territorial district in India is variously referred to in different States, as Collector, Deputy Commissioner, District Magistrate or District Officer, according to the history and tradition of each State.

and maintenance of accounts. A proposal to constitute a separate service of Treasury Officers is at present under consideration. When this materialises there will probably be no need for any *detailed* training in treasury work for the Extra Assistant Commissioner, though a general knowledge of these matters is always useful. To enable the probationer to get an insight into the nature of crimes and to appreciate the roles of police and jail administration, he is given a short training in the duties performed by the police and the jail officers. This training is expected to enable the probationer to take a realistic view of things connected with law and order—fields in which he has to play an important role after he becomes a regular executive officer. Recently, the Punjab Government have also prescribed a brief spell of training in social welfare for the probationer. He is to spend at least a fortnight in some Community Project area. The total period of probation is three years and a probationer has to pass all departmental examinations by higher standard within two years of his selection. The quality of training which he gets is partly determined by the calibre of the Deputy Commissioner under whom he has to serve his probation.

In West Bengal the probationer, referred to as Deputy Collector under training, is given the usual training in revenue and magisterial work. He is also required to acquire a general knowledge of the agricultural conditions and co-operation work and to pass departmental examinations in Bengali, Hindi, Accounts, Criminal law, land laws of Bengal, and general laws. The probationer has also to maintain a diary to record briefly his day-to-day administrative experiences and activities. This diary is inspected by the Collector or any other officer nominated by him to watch the progress made. The Collector is expected by the Government to take a real and active interest in the training of the probationer and to inculcate the true ideals of public service in his mind.

In Madras, the probationer gets his revenue training with revenue officers such as *Karnam* (village accountant), the Revenue Inspector, the *Tehsildar* (circle officer) and the Revenue Divisional Officer. He is also trained in settlement work by *Tehsildars* and Settlement Officers. He further undergoes training in magisterial work for a number of months. The next item in training covers the working of the Government Treasury and Police Department, and is followed by a brief period of probation in

certain other departments in the district, with which he is expected to come in intimate contact as a general administrator. For example, he has to spend some time with the Irrigation and P.W.D. Engineers to learn something about the working of Engineering administration, and has also be an understudy in the Agricultural, Co-operative, Labour and Forest Departments. Now that the Madras Government have adopted Prohibition as a definite policy, the probationer is required to spend a little time with the District Prohibition Officer to understand the working of this policy. As he will also have to supervise or guide the local bodies in the district in the course of time, an opportunity is given to him to get training with the Commissioner of a Municipality and the Secretary of a District Board. This wide and varied training lasts in all for about eighteen months after which he gets an independent charge.

U.P. and Bihar are the only two States at present where *institutional* training supplements individual, field training for the State administrative officers. In U.P. there is an Officers' Training School at Allahabad. It was started in 1951 but ceased to function after sometime and has been revived recently. The declared objectives of the training imparted to the State Civil Service (Executive) probationer are two. In the first place, a trainee is to be taught to look upon himself as a public servant rather than a ruler as in the past. This psychological orientation is necessary if a Civil Servant is not to be a misfit in the parliamentary democracy which we have adopted in India. In the second place, a trainee is to be given properly-planned grounding in laws, revenue work and socio-economic development.

The total period of training in the School is six months. The first phase is of four months and is devoted mostly to class-room study and seminars. The second phase is of two months, and is devoted to field training and study-tours. A combined course for I.A.S. and P.C.S. has been prescribed. Departmental examinations have been abolished and the probationer is to take mid-course and end-of-course examinations in the School itself. Training imparted has essentially a rural and practical bias. Special emphasis is placed on planning and development work. During his stay in the institution the probationer has also to learn military drill, riding, swimming, motor mechanics and agriculture. The School has a six-acre agriculture farm attached to it.

Distinguished administrators and public men are invited to give lectures to the trainees. Social functions are also arranged from time to time to enable the probationers to rub shoulders with outsiders. It cannot be denied that the stay in the School promotes the growth of *esprit de corps* among the young probationers. After the School training is over, they move to various districts for practical training in revenue, magisterial and social development work.

In Bihar, too, there is a training institution for the State Civil Service (Executive) recruits. It is located at Ranchi. A direct recruit to the Bihar Civil Service has to spend nearly four months there to receive instruction in laws, development work and general administration. There are lectures from distinguished outsiders, besides the usual class work and seminars. The probationer also gets training in rifle-shooting, motor mechanics and swimming. After this brief period at the School, he goes to the district to learn revenue and magisterial work. He has also to spend nearly four months in the Community Project and National Extension Service areas to acquaint himself with the socio-economic development of country-side.

As one looks at the training schemes of the above-mentioned States as well as of other States in India, one feels that there is a considerable scope for reform. Before discussing the useful changes which could be brought about, it would be desirable to recapitulate the major aims of the training of civil servants. Several years ago a committee* appointed to study the problem of training of British Civil Servants clearly formulated five main aims of such a training in a democratic country. As these hold good for purposes of training civil servants in any democratic State, they are reproduced here verbatim :

“First, training should endeavour to produce a civil servant whose precision and clarity in the transaction of business can be taken for granted.

“In the second place, the civil servant must be attuned to the tasks which he will be called upon to perform in a changing world. The Civil Service must continuously and boldly adjust its outlook and its methods to the new needs of new times.

* CMD Paper 6525 : Report of the Committee on Training of Civil Servants (Assheton Report), pp. 10-11.

“Thirdly, there is a need to develop resistance to the danger of the civil servant becoming mechanised by the machine; while we must aim at the highest possible standard of efficiency, our purpose is not to produce a robot-like, mechanically-perfect civil service. The recruit from the first should be made aware of the relation of his work to the service rendered by his Department to the community. The capacity to see what he is doing in a wider setting will make the work not only more valuable to his Department but also more stimulating to himself. In addition, therefore, to purely vocational training directed to the proper performance of his day-to-day work, he should receive instruction on a broader basis as well as encouragement to persevere with his own educational development.

“Fourthly, even as regards vocational training, it is not sufficient to train solely for the job which lies immediately at hand. Training must be directed not only to enabling an individual to perform his current work more efficiently, but also to fitting him for other duties, and, where appropriate, developing his capacity for higher work and greater responsibilities.

“Fifthly, even these ends are not in themselves enough. Large numbers of people have inevitably to spend most of their working lives upon tasks of a routine character, and with this human problem ever in the background, training plans, to be successful, must pay substantial regard to staff morale.”

If these aims are to be realised effectively in India, we shall have to take several measures to reorganise training facilities in the various States of India. In the first place, every State should follow the example of the Government of India by appointing a Director of Training. He should be made responsible for drawing up and implementing the schemes of training not only for the State Administrative Service officers but also for other services in the State. Then there should be a Staff College in which the probationers of all the higher services in a State should get training together. There is a widespread complaint of too much of consciousness among civil servants, of belonging to a particular service*

* Mr. Paul H. Appleby comments on this tendency among Indian civil servants in his report on Public Administration in India.

or grade. If a general *esprit de corps* is to be developed among them, it will be highly desirable to put them together for sometime in an institution at the beginning of their careers. They can receive instruction in certain subjects together, while they can have separate classes for their special subjects. If the general administrators and other more specialised civil servants are not to fail in their new and varied responsibilities in our democratic welfare State, they need to be given grounding in theoretical and applied knowledge of Sociology, Economics, Government and Administration for about six months. This knowledge will broaden their outlook* and make them discharge their duties intelligently and more effectively.

After the first six months of general grounding in social sciences, the probationers for posts of different grades should spend some time in acquiring specialised knowledge of their jobs if there is a need for it. The State Administrative Officers, with whom we are particularly concerned here, should spend six months in learning the relevant laws, the revenue administration and social development administration. At the end of the year, there should be an examination both written and oral to test the knowledge of probationers. Marks should also be allotted to seminar work which should receive greater attention than lectures in the Staff College. Physical training, military training, motor mechanics and riding should form an important part of extra-mural activities.

After the examination, the probationers of the State Administrative Service should be sent to select districts, where there are experienced Collectors and other officers, to undergo ten months' training in magisterial, revenue, social development and miscellaneous executive work. They must keep diaries of their day-to-day work and these should be inspected by the Collectors. The Director of Training should receive quarterly reports from the Collectors about the progress of the probationers. He should make suggestions, if need be, about a particular probationer. After the expiry of ten months' training, the probationers should spend three weeks in the Home and Finance Departments

* Prof. W. A. Robson, an eminent thinker in the field of Public Administration, also stresses this training in social sciences in his article in *Political Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, No. 4, October-December, 1954.

at the State Secretariat. This will help them to acquire knowledge not merely of office procedures but also of the relationship between the Secretariat, the Minister and the Legislature as well as of the Secretariat and the District Administration. Again, a brief experience in the Development and Planning Department, say, for three weeks, will enable them to appreciate the importance of socio-economic development which is the crying need of the people, besides the traditional needs for law and order. At the completion of this practical training the probationers should go back to the Staff College for a fortnight where discussion groups and seminars should be organised to enable them to sift and clarify their experiences and ideas. Now they should be ready for taking up their duties as regular civil servants in the State.

The Staff College should also organise short refresher courses at regular intervals. The general administrator and other civil servants can have a brief spell at the College to refresh their knowledge by doing a bit of reading and having the benefit of group discussions. The College should maintain a close contact with the regional branch—which needs to be opened in each State—of the newly set up Indian Institute of Public Administration. The two organisations could collaborate to bring civil servants, academicians and public men together for exchange of ideas on administrative matters.

In conclusion, it appears necessary to stress, once again, the importance of a fuller reorientation of the training methods and procedures in regard to general administrations in the various parts of India. Without this the administrators will not be properly equipped to bear the increasing burden which is falling on their shoulders now that the Government are to play a crucial part in the socio-economic reconstruction of the country, besides maintaining law and order as in the past. Moreover, a greater effectiveness of the State Administrative Service Officers, as a result of thorough training, will strengthen their case for raising the quota of their promotion to the I.A.S. from the present 25 per cent. to something higher.

EDITORIAL NOTES

This issue marks the completion of the first volume of the *Journal*. If the numerous letters of warm appreciation and encouragement which we have received from readers in India and abroad are an indication, we have good reason to indulge in sober satisfaction, and we feel inspired to do even better in the future.

The end of the year is also the proper time for settling one's debts, especially of gratitude. We are happy to acknowledge the very deep debt we owe to the staff of the Publications Unit of the *Institute* generally, and in particular to Shri B.S. Narula, Secretary to Director, who has worked unceasingly and given invaluable assistance on the editorial side and to Shri R.G. Mulgund, Administrative Officer, who has performed miracles of executive achievement on the production side.

The news section contains a variety of interesting items and we have also added a 'Digest of Reports'—a new feature which we hope will be of interest and assistance to all readers.

—*Editor*

News from India and Abroad

1. UNITED KINGDOM

Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55

In their report to British Parliament presented in November 1955, the Royal Commission on the Civil Service presided over by Sir Raymond Priestley, have recommended increases in rates of pay, abolition of regular overtime and extra duty allowance, and shorter holidays. These increases will cost the Exchequer about £11m. a year while savings worth £20m. are likely to accrue from the abolition of overtime and extra duty allowances. The Commission have also suggested the establishment of a top level committee for "exercising a general over-sight" of the remuneration of the higher Civil Service. As a first step towards the eventual adoption of the 5-day week, the Commission have proposed the introduction of 10½-day fortnight. (For further details please see section on 'Digest of Reports', pp. 371-377).

Working of Administrative Tribunals

A committee has been set up by the Lord Chancellor with Sir Oliver Franks, former British Ambassador in Washington, as its Chairman to look into the working of administrative tribunals. The terms of reference are :

- (1) The constitution and working of tribunals other than the ordinary courts of law constituted under any Act of Parliament by a Minister of the Crown or for the purposes of a Minister's functions.
- (2) The working of such administrative procedures as include the holding of an enquiry or hearing by or on behalf of a Minister on an appeal or as the result of objections or representations and in particular the procedure for the compulsory purchase of land.

2. UNITED STATES

A Single Entrance Examination for Federal Services

In order to encourage "college-calibre" people to enter the Federal Service, the U.S. Civil Service Commission have announced a major change in their recruitment policy. A single Federal Service Entrance Examination will replace numerous college-level examinations. To qualify for taking the examination, the candidates must be college graduates or have the appropriate equivalent experience. The examination will be used by the Federal departments and agencies to fill a wide variety of positions at the entrance or trainee level, including positions formerly filled through the Junior Management Assistant and Junior Agricultural Assistant examinations. Most appointments will be made to positions in Grade GS-5 (with entrance

salary of \$3,670 a year), and some to positions in GS-6 and GS-7 (\$4,080 and \$4,525). Candidates can also compete for internships in the same examination by answering additional written papers and appearing for an interview. In the words of the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Philip Young, this is "far more than an examination shift. This is a brand-new programme designed to encourage people of college-caliber to set their sights not just on a job, but on a career with the Federal Government."

Career Status for "Indefinite" Employees

The U.S. Civil Service Commission have issued instructions to Government departments and agencies in regard to the grant of career status to employees who fulfil certain conditions. The employees should either have satisfactory service of three years, or have passed a competitive Civil Service test or pass an appropriate non-competitive examination within the next year. The three years' service required for eligibility does not necessarily have to be consecutive. On receipt of recommendations from the Government department or agency, *Career* status will be accorded to those who have more than 3 years' service and *Career-Conditional* status to those who have less than 3 years' service. About 40,000 'indefinite' employees are likely to benefit from the proposals.

Congress Investigates Civil Service Commission

The U.S. Congress has authorised two investigations into the working of the United States Civil Service Commission. The first enquiry will be conducted by Mr. Henry Cassell, a staff member of the "Post Office and Civil Service Committee" of the House of Representatives. It will cover such matters as the distribution of jobs in grades GS-16 and above, the President's career-conditional order of last January, the extent to which the government has contracted out its operations to private concerns, and several aspects of the operations of the Post Office Department.

The second investigation which will have a somewhat broader scope will be undertaken, on behalf of the "Post Office & Civil Service Committee" of the Senate, by Mr. James R. Watson on leave from the Civil Service League. It will include (1) the roles of the White House and Civil Service Commission in personnel management and the effect on the merit system, particularly the dual role of Mr. Philip Young as Chairman of the Commission and the President's Personnel Adviser; (2) the "Willis directive" setting up a political clearance system for many Federal jobs, and its impact on the career system; (3) the need for changes in top civil service command; (4) policies of various agencies in administering civil service regulations; and (5) possible outside influence on the CSC Board of Appeals and Review.

Dismissal Procedures in Federal Government

The Federal Court of Appeals in Washington has ruled that the U.S. Government Departments and agencies may dismiss employees under the procedure prescribed by the Lloyd-La-Follette Act of 1912 instead of that provided by the Performance Rating Act, 1950. The latter law requires

of a Department to warn an employee if his performance is unsatisfactory and give him a 90-day period in which to improve. If at the end of this time the employee is given an unsatisfactory rating he has recourse to a series of appeals which can consume considerable time. The Court contended that the intent of the 1950 Act was to help an employee who had merit and who could perhaps be placed in another job as an alternative to dismissal. Matters relating to breach of discipline, insubordination and neglect of duties should more appropriately be dealt with under the Lloyd-La-Follette Act which provides that a Government Department or agency may prepare a letter of charges, and give the employee an opportunity to reply. After taking these two steps, the Department or agency may legally dismiss the employee.

Employee Incentives

The new Federal Government 'incentive award programme' has, during a period of 7 months ended June 30, 1955, resulted in savings worth a total of \$ 40m. Of 138,000 suggestions received during this period, 35,000 suggestions were adopted; and 3,850 employees were given superior or performance awards. For their 'economy ideas', the Federal Government employees received about \$ 1.5m. in cash awards, *i.e.*, a bit more than 3½% of the sum of their proposals saved the Government.

In New York, the city employees who have written articles, book reviews or books are now mentioned in a special pamphlet put out by the municipal reference library and sent to officials and other employees of the city. The idea is to extend recognition, beyond the limits of their particular departments, to those local employees "who, during the past year, have been quietly adding to the store of professional knowledge about New York by their written contributions". The title and publisher of the writings are also listed.

Tax Collection by Payment Box

Citizens in Phoenix, Arizona, can pay most of their city bills at a payment box which has been placed just outside the city hall. The box has openings on two sides to facilitate use by motorists and pedestrians. Envelopes are provided in the box and it is necessary only for the payee to indicate on the envelope the type of payment being made and enclose the proper amount of money together with the parking ticket, water bill, privilege licence tax or other bill. To ensure adequate internal control the box is opened and emptied once each day by two city employees, and envelopes are opened and payments checked by these two persons.

Institute of Public Administration, New York

Prof. Charles S. Ascher, Chairman of the Political Science Department at Brooklyn College, who represented three international nongovernmental organizations engaged in the study of public administration, urban government and planning at the United Nations for six years, has been appointed an associate director of the Institute of Public Administration, New York. Prof. Ascher has been an associate director of the Public Administration Clearing House for the past four years.

3. INDIA

Revision of the Central Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules

The Government of India are revising the Civil Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules originally framed by the Secretary of State under the Government of India Act, 1919. The original Rules, as amended from time to time, still contain a number of references to obsolete authorities and some of them are also inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution. There also exist at present a number of separate orders relating to appointing and punishing authorities, scattered in various files and it is often a matter of some difficulty to ascertain who can impose which punishment on whom. The new Rules will bring together into one volume the information indicating the appointing authority, authority which is empowered to impose penalties and the penalties which it may impose, for each class or grade of the Central Services. Specific provision is being made for classifying posts as well as Services. The rules relating to appointments and discipline of Subordinate Services (*i.e.* Classes III and IV) which were contained in a separate notification will be amalgamated with the main rules. Express power is being given to appropriate authorities to order the suspension of a Government servant pending an enquiry into his conduct. Compulsory retirement is being introduced as a new penalty; and the circumstances in which reversions, discharges, etc. will not amount to penalties will be clearly laid down. The procedure for imposing penalties will be clarified taking into account the provisions of the Constitution as well as the Union Public Service Commission (Consultation) Regulations. A period of limitation will be specifically prescribed for the submission of appeals against disciplinary or administrative orders.

Engineering Personnel Committee

The Government of India have recently set up an Engineering Personnel Committee with Shri Y.N. Sukthankar, I.C.S., Secretary, Planning Commission, as its Chairman and Shri B.N. Datar, Director, Labour and Employment, Planning Commission, as its Secretary. The terms of reference of the Committee briefly are : (a) to assess the supply and demand position relating to the supervisory and higher grades of engineering personnel for the next 15 years in general and for the period of the Second Five Year Plan in particular, in regard to the public and private sectors; and (b) to recommend measures, especially in regard to the expansion and development of facilities for technical education and for practical training in industrial establishments, for purposes of ensuring adequate supply of men of requisite skills and standards.

In its interim report, the Committee has made a series of recommendations concerning the optimum utilisation of existing personnel, the organisation of short-term training courses on a functional basis, and the extension of institutional facilities for technical training. The existing facilities for graduate training should be increased by 20 per cent. and that for diploma training by 25 per cent. Even after this increase there would still be a shortage of engineering personnel in almost all the categories during the next few years. The Committee has also recommended the establishment of a high-power body at the Centre for taking policy

decisions, supplemented by supporting executive organisations both at the State level and at the Centre to carry out these decisions. Another important suggestion made by the Committee relates to the urgent need for "diversification in the administrative cadres by the inclusion of engineers, scientists and other persons with technical qualifications".

Progress of O & M

The establishment of the Central O & M Division has been followed by the development of O & M Machinery in a number of States. While the Government of **Assam** have created a Methods and Organisation Division under the Planning and Development Department, the Government of **Uttar Pradesh** have appointed a Commissioner for Reorganisation and Director, O & M (of the rank of ex officio Additional Secretary) to scrutinize, and initiate proposals for reorganisation and rationalisation of collectorates offices of heads of departments and the various branches of the secretariat.

In **Punjab**, the State Government have set up a committee consisting of all secretaries to advise and aid in the O & M work. In **Bombay**, the 'Inspection and O & M' Section which has been functioning since September 1954, has recently extended its activities to District Administration. All Collectors have been nominated as O & M officers; and a small directing committee of 5 has been formed to deal with O & M problems relating to Districts.

O & M Divisions already exist in **West Bengal**, **Kutch** and **Rajasthan**.

At the **Centre**, a Deputy Director has been appointed in the O & M Division to visit the Ministries and their subordinate organisations and assist the internal O & M officers in their task.

The Central O & M Division also propose to bring out soon a "Guide to Efficiency" which would provide hints for the Secretariat staff to improve their 'know-how' and thereby assist them to step up the speed and quality of their work. The other important projects in the hands of the Division are : (1) the standardisation of furniture in Government offices in order to replace the existing out-moded designs by modern utility types; and (2) the publication of an Administration Directory of the Government of India giving information about subjects dealt with by officers of, and above, the rank of Deputy Secretary. This is expected to help in making inter-departmental references and consultations.

Staff Councils

The Government of **Travancore-Cochin** have ordered that Departmental Staff Councils consisting of representatives of the Government and staff be constituted for each Department except the Police and Prisons Departments. A Joint Council of the representatives of all Departments and staff will also be constituted. The Councils will be advisory bodies and will consider suggestions for improving standards of work and provide means of contacts between officers and staff and thus help to promote cordial relations and co-operation. Questions relating to conditions of service shall be discussed only with reference to general principles underlying them.

There shall be no discussions of individual cases. The Joint Council will consist of ten members, half of them representing the Government and the other half representing the staff. Representatives of the Government on Departmental Councils shall be appointed by Heads of Departments; and the representatives of the staff by an appropriate union, if there is one, which is recognised by the Government and which has at least 75 per cent. of the employees of the Department as its members. In case there is no such union, representatives for the staff shall be elected by the members from amongst themselves. The Chief Secretary to the Government shall be the Chairman of the Joint Council, and the Head of the Department concerned shall be the Chairman of the Departmental Council.

In **Hyderabad**, the State government have established a Staff Committee composed of 30 members half of whom represent the Government and half the employees. The Chief Secretary is the ex officio Chairman of the Committee and the Government members are nominated from amongst officers of the Secretariat and Heads of Departments at headquarters and in districts. Of the 15 staff representatives, 12 are nominated from the various categories of subordinate services, and three from amongst Class IV employees. Recognised Government servants' associations may make recommendations for the categories of staff they represent. Staff representatives sit on the Committee for one year but can be renominated.

The **Madras** Government have also ordered the establishment of Madras Civil Services Joint Council. This will be a Central Organisation covering (1) the Secretariat, (2) Revenue, (3) Forest, (4) Medical, and (5) Public Works Departments. It will consist of 14 members, one half to be appointed by the Government and the other half by recognised service associations.

Staff Councils already exist in a number of Central Ministries.

Administrative Vigilance Machinery in States

The Government of **Madhya Pradesh** have set up a Complaints Board, headed by the Deputy Minister for Public Works, to examine and deal promptly with all complaints of corruption and misconduct against Government servants. Though the Board cannot enquire into anonymous petitions, it can, however, act of its own on public information.

The **Punjab** Government have set up Complaint Offices in each district, and have further decided to set up an intelligence section, attached to the Anti-Corruption Department.

In **Hyderabad**, a net-work of Anti-Corruption Committees has been established throughout the State. With a five-member Central Anti-Corruption Committee at the apex, every district now has an anti-corruption committee whose function is not only to scrutinize cases and suggest methods of eradicating corruption, but also to carry on propaganda and build up public opinion against malpractices. An Anti-Corruption Department has also been recently organised, with the former X branch of the C.I.D. as its nucleus.

In **West Bengal**, the anti-corruption organisation of the Government is headed by a Special Officer, who is a senior member of the I.C.S., with the

ex officio rank of a Secretary to the Government. He is aided by two Deputy Superintendents of Police and a complement of Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, A.S.I.s., etc.

Recruitment of Municipal Government Personnel through Public Service Commissions

The **Hyderabad** Assembly has enacted a law bringing the Local Government services in that State under the purview of the State Public Service Commission. Hitherto, recruitment of Gazetted Officers in Local Government Service was outside the scope of the Public Service Commission.

In **Punjab**, it has been decided that all employees of local bodies in the State with a salary of Rs. 150/- p.m. or above, other than Executive Officers of Municipal Committees, should be recruited through the State Public Service Commission.

Working of Local Bodies

The Government of **Punjab** have set up a Local Government (Urban) Enquiry Committee consisting of officials and non-officials under the chairmanship of the Minister for Local Government and Public Works, to enquire into the operation of existing laws and rules, etc. pertaining to urban local bodies in the State and to recommend amendments thereto with a view to improving the working of municipal administration. The Committee has also been asked to consider the question of setting up a Local Government Directorate with Regional Officers at the Divisional and District levels and the possibility of integrating it with the Directorate of Panchayats.

Panchayat System in Jails

The panchayat system amongst prisoners in **West Bengal** jails, introduced about two years ago, has been extended to various Central and District jails. The object is to give prisoners scope for developing a sense of personal responsibility and self-confidence. The panchayats, containing elected representatives of prisoners, supervise the preparation and distribution of food, help in the schooling of prisoners, organise recreations, games and exercise, look after sanitary arrangements and also deal with grievances of prisoners.

Teaching of Public Administration

A Diploma Course in Public and Business Administration has been instituted at the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, **Bombay**, from the beginning of the current academic year. It is a three-year course and is designed to provide training for those who propose to join non-technical service under Government or under private institutions like banks and commercial houses. The Government of **Bombay** have recognised the Diploma as equivalent to a university Degree for recruitment to Government posts for which a degree is prescribed as the minimum qualification except where the degree is required to be in a specific subject,

Rajasthan Administrative Enquiry Committee

The **Rajasthan** Government have set up an Administrative Enquiry Committee consisting of the Chief Secretary as Chairman and the Planning Secretary and the Finance Secretary as members, to estimate the anticipated increase in the workload of Departments during the Second Five Year Plan period and to examine what changes in the strength of the staff will be necessary.

Special Service for Administration of Frontier Areas

The Government of India are constituting a cadre of officers to be called the "Indian Frontier Administrative Service".

Twenty-three Political Officers and 20 non-Political Officers, who were selected for service in the N.E.F.A. in 1953, form the nucleus of this cadre. They have generally justified their selection and shown good results.

4. SOUTH-EAST ASIA**Ecafe Workshop on Budgetary Classification**

A meeting of the Workshop on problems of Budget Reclassification in the Ecafe Region was held at Bangkok from August 30 to September 10, 1955, under the joint auspices of the Ecafe, the U.N.T.A.A. and the Fiscal and Financial Branch of the U.N. Bureau of Economic Affairs. This conference was the second of its type, the first one being held in September, 1953, in Mexico for discussing similar problems relating to the Central and Latin American countries.

Thirty-four experts nominated by 17 Member Governments participated in the discussions. The Indian Delegation was led by Shri Shiv Naubh Singh, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Finance and included Dr. N.A. Sarma, Deputy Director of Research, Reserve Bank of India. The main object of the Workshop was to provide a forum for informal discussions on problems of budgetary classification for policy purposes and for exchange of experience of the Ecafe countries in this field. The Workshop suggested a minimum economic classification of the accounts of the public sector which would enable the persons responsible for shaping economic policies to have a clear picture of the effect of those policies on the economy of the country as a whole. The Workshop also proposed a cross-classification of Government transactions by functional and economic categories. This cross-classification is intended to serve the purpose of interpreting the unfamiliar economic categories in terms of the familiar functional categories.

Ecafe Working Party on Economic Development and Planning

India was represented at the first meeting of the Ecafe Working Party on Economic Development and Planning held at Bangkok from 31st October to 11th November, 1955, by Prof. D.G. Karve, Dr. K.S. Krishnaswamy, Dr. V.V. Bhatt, Research Officer, Reserve Bank of India, and Mr. M. Mukherjee, Deputy Director, C. S. O. The Working Party

discussed, among other things, the impact of the developmental programmes on the machinery of public administration. In most countries, there was a noticeable tendency to adapt the existing administrative institutions and to improvise new ones to meet the steadily growing demands of economic policy. The planning machinery took diverse forms, varying from a supplementary (independent) cabinet to an inter-ministerial or inter-departmental committee. Important operational problems related to the collection of data from Government departments, bearing on the formulation of a programme and its periodical evaluation with a view to continued adjustment; the development of an integrated relationship between the planning body and the operational departments of Government through a system of frequent consultations, co-opted membership and normal methods of consultation and participation—industrial panels, consultative committees, joint boards; the education of both officials as well as businessmen, in the nature and advantages of the plan; the acceptance of the planning policy as representing the best judgment of the community; eliciting public co-operation and participation; drawing on the services of technicians, economists and administrators; training of the high-level officials in the work of planning; and the development of evaluating agencies.

5. UNITED NATIONS

Under the new arrangements for technical assistance on the principle of "country programming", a substantial increase in the aid to under-developed countries in the field of public administration is expected. The proposals for assistance received by the Technical Assistance Board cover a wide range of subjects, like organization and methods, planning, government purchase, postal communications, public finance, budgeting and accounts and municipal administration. Regional projects are likely to include aid to Advanced School of Public Administration for Central America, the Institute of Public Administration for Turkey and the Middle East and the School of Public Administration at Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, and the organization of a conference of health administrators in South-East Asia. The assistance provided by the U.N. in public administration has in the past increased year by year. Projects in public administration now cover more than 30 states and territories—a wider sweep than in any of the previous five years of the Expanded Programme. Measured in man-months of expert services provided, the expert aid increased from 92 in 1951, to 195 in 1952, 479 in 1953 and 578 in 1954.

Digest of Reports

**ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE CIVIL SERVICE 1953-55,
REPORT.** *London, H.M.S.O., 1955. vii, 238p. 6s. 6d.*

The Commission were set up in 1953 to decide whether any changes were desirable (1) in the principles which should govern pay or in the rates of pay in force for the main categories of services, (2) in the hours of work, arrangements for overtime and remuneration for extra duty and annual leave allowances and (3) in the existing superannuation scheme. The Commission were composed of (1) Sir Raymond Priestley (Chairman) (2) Countess of Albemarle (3) Sir George Robert Mowbray (4) Sir Alexander Gray (5) Mr. F. A. A. Menzler (6) Mr. Hugh Lloyd Williams (7) Mr. S. F. Burman (8) Mr. William Cash (9) Mr. N. F. Hall (10) Prof. Willis Jackson (11) Mr. G. B. Thorneycroft and (12) Prof. Barbara Frances Wootton.

The Commission's Report, presented to British Parliament in November 1955, provides an eminently clear and fair assessment of the principles according to which pay and conditions ought to be examined, in the light of contemporary circumstances, in a huge organisation sharing both industrial and professional characteristics and yet immune from judgment by ordinary profit-and-loss standards.

(i) Principles Governing Pay Fixation

(a) *General Principles* : The Commission consider that the ultimate end of principles of pay should be "the maintenance of a Civil Service recognised as efficient and staffed by members whose remuneration and conditions of service are thought fair both by themselves and by the community they serve". The Commission elaborate this further to imply that "the interests of the community in general, of those responsible for administering the Civil Service and of the individual civil servants themselves should be kept in balance. The community must feel that it is getting an efficient service and that it is not being asked to pay an excessive price for it. Heads of Departments must have sufficient suitably qualified staff to carry out the tasks demanded of them. The individual civil servant must feel that his remuneration is not unreasonable". "A correct balance will be achieved only if the primary principle of civil service pay is fair comparison with the current remuneration of outside staffs employed on broadly comparable work, taking account of differences in other conditions of service".

The Commission strongly recommend the principle of "fair comparison" not only on grounds of fairness to all the three parties—the community, the Civil Service, and the individual civil servant—but also on the plea that this principle safeguards the civil servants from political pressure. For preserving the impartiality of the Civil Service, it is essential that there

should be little scope for the exercise of political considerations in matters like the fixation of pay and allowances. The salaries of all posts in the Service should be public knowledge and should not be susceptible to arbitrary variation; while at the same time there should be a reasonable measure of flexibility in adjusting pay and conditions of service to meet changed circumstances. This can be best ensured only through the principle of "fair comparison" which can be applied consistently by successor governments of different political complexion. The Commission further feel that it is implicit in the principles of fair comparison, that "civil service pay structure should reflect such changes as take place in the outside world. If, however, changes were proposed in the Civil Service with the intention of giving a lead on such matters to the country as a whole in order to further a political or social objective, civil service pay negotiations would become involved with political issues and the non-political character of the Service might well be impaired."

As regards internal relativities, both vertical and horizontal, these should be used as a supplement to the principle of fair comparison in settling civil service rates in detail, and may have to be the first consideration when outside comparisons cannot be made, but they should never be allowed to override the primary principle or to become rigid.

(b) *Fact-Finding* : The Commission's detailed proposals concerning new pay scales are in accordance with the principle of "broad comparability". They have been able to apply the principle of fair comparison with reasonable effectiveness to some grades of clerical and specialised work though they have not found it feasible to apply either the principle or the methods recommended by them to the extent they would wish them to see applied in the future. For a fuller and more effective application of the principle, the Commission recommend the establishment of a "fact-finding unit" in a branch of the Civil Service not directly connected with those divisions of the Treasury responsible for questions of pay and service conditions. It is further suggested that the Treasury and Civil Service associations should from time to time agree upon an appropriate selection of organisations which employ staff on broadly comparable work and whose rates of pay and conditions should be taken into account in determining Civil Service pay. This "fact-finding" should be a continuous and detailed study, by qualified and experienced staffs and should be divided into two parts. In the first process, that of establishing "job-comparability", they should keep themselves informed of developing techniques in the field of work comparison. In the second process, they should collect information on pay and conditions. Comparison should be with current rates rather than with trends in outside remuneration. The Civil Service should be a good employer in the sense that while it should not be among those who offer the highest rates of remuneration, it should be among those who pay somewhat above the average. Expressed in statistical terms, it means that "if it were possible to obtain for any specific job a set of rates 'representative of the community as a whole' which could be arranged in order from top to bottom, the civil service rate should be not lower than the median but not above the upper quartile. In practice, however, the field of selection will rarely, if ever, be representative of the community as a whole since it is proposed that it should consist of 'good employers'." Accordingly, the Commission suggest that the right range within which to make comparison should be around the

median. Furthermore, in making fair comparisons, due allowance should be made for career prospects, hours of work, leave, security of tenure, superannuation terms and the like. Factors which cannot be quantified should be roughly assessed for the whole relevant field of selection for comparison.

(c) *Pay of the Higher Civil Service* : The Commission state that in determining the remuneration of the higher Civil Service regard should be had to salaries in industry (private and nationalized), commerce and finance, to comparisons that can be made with other public services (for example, senior posts in the local authorities) and with senior university staffs, and to the level of remuneration which would be considered reasonable in the light of tradition and convention for the most senior Civil Servants.

The Commission further propose that there should be appointed by the Prime Minister, after informal consultation with staff interests, a committee of five persons chosen to reflect a cross-section of informed opinion in the country, with the function of "exercising a general oversight of the remuneration of the higher Civil Service". The committee should advise the Government, either at the latter's request or on its own initiative, on what changes are desirable in the remuneration of the higher Civil Service, and it should also be free to make such other enquiries as it sees fit.

The Commission also recommend the adoption of the principle of "broadbanding" for the higher Civil Service in order that within each class gaps between salaries shall not be less than £250 above £2,600 a year. Briefly the principle of "broadbanding" means that where different posts, whether in the same or different classes, carry roughly the same level of responsibility, they should have the same pay and that no attempt should be made to mark minor differences in the content of the work by minor differences in the rates of pay.

(d) *The Specialist Classes* : About the specialist classes, the Commission feel that any changes in their pay and career prospects should come about not by the application of a theory of parity with "corresponding" non-specialist classes but by a process of evolution through the application of the principle of fair comparison in an economy increasingly dependent upon scientific discovery and technological development. Complements in the specialist field should be as flexible as possible so that establishments will adjust themselves rapidly to the changing needs of the work and thus ensure that the Civil Service does not lag behind outside employment in improving the attractions and rewards of a scientific and professional career.

(e) *Provincial Differentiation* : On the question of provincial differentiation the Commission believe that a national rate, with additions for London and possibly other high-cost areas, would be preferable to the present scheme of provincial differentiation and negotiations for a change on these lines should be initiated as soon as possible. It is also suggested that the adequacy of the scale of transfer grants might be examined.

(ii) New Rates of Pay

The table below gives the new pay scales proposed by the Commission for various grades. The present pay scales are also shown.

	Present pay excl. overtime or extra duty allowance £	Present pay incl. overtime or extra duty allowance £	Proposed pay £
Administrative Class (London)			
Permanent secretary	4,500	—	6,000
Deputy secretary	3,250	—	4,250
Under secretary	2,600	—	3,250
Assistant secretary	1,700-2,200	—	2,000-2,600
Principal	1,245-1,595	1,344-1,620	1,300-1,850
Executive Class :			
Senior executive officer			
London	1,125-1,325	1,215-1,431	1,220-1,450
Provincial	1,077-1,257	1,109-1,295	1,140-1,370
Executive officer			
London	321-870	346-940	340-950
Provincial	306-830	315-855	325-900
Clerical Class :			
Clerical officer			
London	195-625	214-685	225-650
Provincial	186-595	193-618	210-610
Scientific Officer Class :			
Principal scientific officer			
London	1,245-1,595	1,344-1,620	1,300-1,850
Provincial	1,185-1,567	1,220-1,567	1,220-1,750
Scientific officer			
London	514-925	555-999	575-1,000
Provincial	489-885	504-911	535-950
Works Group of Professional Classes :			
Senior grade :			
London	1,470-1,595	1,588-1,620	1,600-1,850
Provincial	1,390-1,571	1,432-1,571	1,500-1,750
Main grade :			
London	1,095-1,415	1,183-1,528	1,150-1,550
Provincial	1,055-1,335	1,087-1,375	1,090-1,450
Medical Officer Class (London) :			
Senior medical officer	2,200	—	2,600
Medical officer	1,595-2,100	1,620-2,100	1,650-2,250

(iii) Overtime and Hours of Work

The Commission have found that the present practice whereby Civil Service staff work regular overtime is not prevalent in outside employment. The Commission regard it as an inefficient and uneconomic practice and recommend the gradual abolition of overtime and extra duty allowance as soon as practicable. It is proposed that the 'gross' working hours should become 'conditioned' hours of work (hours that must be worked before overtime or extra duty allowance is payable, or, in the case of the higher civil service, the prescribed minimum hours). Conditioned working hours in a fortnight should be 84 gross and 74 net in London, and 88 gross and 78 net elsewhere. These hours, it is stated, seem not unreasonable, having regard to outside practice. In making their decision the Commission were influenced by the difference in the time and stresses of travel as between inner London and the country generally. Meal intervals, it is stated, should be 60 minutes in London and elsewhere for lunch, with tea at desks where possible or "unofficial" breaks of five to 10 minutes where not.

The Commission further recommend that the 5-day week should be introduced as widely as possible in two stages, the first being the introduction of the 10½-day fortnight as soon as possible wherever practicable. Staffs in local offices who may have to work on Saturday frequently should be given compensation in the form of an alternative half-day in the week or shorter working hours.

(iv) Annual Leave

Proposing reductions in annual leave allowances, the Commission find that the present allowances are much more generous than those found in comparable employment outside the service, and the high figure of 48 days before the war was still more so. The prevailing leave allowances and the new ones proposed by the Commission are as shown on the next page.

The Commission recognize that alterations in matters such as leave and arrangements of hours tend to create administrative problems and they do not consider that major changes can be introduced overnight in such an organization as the Civil Service. They should take place in stages over a period.

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The approximate cost of the new rates of pay recommended is estimated to be about £11m. a year while savings accruing from the abolition of overtime and extra duty allowances would be of the tune of about £120m. The Commission, however, point out that there is a third element in calculation also, namely the cost of such additional manpower as might be required if their recommendations were to be brought into force. But the Commission do not venture any estimate about the third element.

(v) Superannuation

On superannuation the Commission hold that the balance of present advantage lies in making no extension of the existing arrangements for preserving pension rights of Civil servants who leave the service of their own volition before the normal retiring age. The present limiting age of 35 for the grant of "added years" should be reduced to 30.

Present Leave Allowances

Proposed Leave Allowances

Administrative class ... 36 days; after 10 years, 48* days.

Executive officer ... 36 days.

Other executive grades 36 days; after 15 years' service in a grade eligible for 36 days' leave, 48* days.

Clerical officer ... 24 days.

Shorthand typist ... 21 days; after 5 years, 24 days.

Clerical assistant and copy typist ... 18 days; after 5 years, 21 days.

Staff on scales with maxima up to and including that of clerical officer

Staff on scales with maxima above that of clerical officer up to and including that of senior executive officer

Staff on scales with maxima above that of senior executive officer up to and including that of assistant secretary

* While this entitlement still remains, so does a limitation to 36 in practice.

Staff on scales with maxima above that of assistant secretary

The Commission recommend (with five dissentients) no change in the present application of Section 20 of the Superannuation Act, 1834, in relation to staff who retire and are re-employed in a lower grade, nor do they suggest any change in the arrangement whereby years served before the age of 60 reckon for superannuation purposes within a maximum period of 40 only. The following scale of annuities for unestablished staff are proposed:—

For staff with less than 5 years' service	.. Nil.
For staff with 5 but less than 10 years' service	.. 1 week's pay for each of the first 5 years' service and 2 weeks' for each of the second 5 years' service.
For staff with 10 or more years' service	.. 1 week's pay for each of the first five years' service, 2 weeks' for years between 5 and 10, and 4 weeks for each year after 10.

(vi) General

The Commission observe that in the past year the recruiting position in some classes had deteriorated. If the principle of fair comparison is applied it is expected that over a period something like the right proportions of recruits, both of high and of average quality, would be attracted to the service. Pay and conditions of service are, however, not the only factors affecting recruitment, and the Commission do not suggest their recommendations would provide complete and immediate solution of current difficulties.

The Report indicates that on the 1st July, 1955 the strength of the Civil Service within the ambit of the National Whitley Council was as follows:—

Service	Established staff	Unestablished staff	Total Numbers	Per cent.
(a) Administrative class	2,596	165	2,761	0.4
(b) General service and departmental executive classes	63,043	3,461	66,504	9.2
(c) General service and departmental clerical and sub-clerical classes	144,339	40,437	184,776	25.5
(d) Typing grades	16,299	10,930	27,229	3.8
(e) Professional, scientific and technical classes	49,523	22,531	72,054	9.9
(f) Post Office manipulative grades (including cleaners, etc.)	171,050	36,179	207,229	28.6
(g) Messengers, cleaners, etc., (except Post Office)	16,406	12,457	28,863	4.0
(h) Post Office engineering and allied grades	65,240	13,511	78,751	10.9
(i) Others	29,905	25,669	55,574	7.7
Total	558,401	165,340	723,741	100.0

PLANNING COMMISSION : VILLAGE AND SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES (SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN) COMMITTEE. REPORT.
Delhi, Manager of Publications, Government of India, 1955. 89p.

The Committee, commonly known as 'Karve Committee', was set up in June 1955, in pursuance of a recommendation made by the National Development Council, with Prof. D.G. Karve as Chairman and Dr. D.K. Malhotra as Secretary. The Committee has underlined the need for a continuing and adequate supply of consumers' goods from small-scale and village industries' sector in the building up of "the modern structure" of production, and has recommended development programmes costing Rs. 259.61 crores for village and small-scale industries under the Second Five Year Plan. Special emphasis has been laid on decentralized use of improved production techniques.

In view of the growing importance of village and small-scale industries in the national economy and for facilitating the evaluation of integrated policy and programme in the field, the Committee has suggested that matters relating to these industries should be dealt with at a single focal point at all the three levels—Centre, State and the District. At the Centre there should be a separate Ministry, under a Minister with Cabinet rank, for small-scale and village industries, co-ordination with other Ministries being brought about through an appropriate committee of the Cabinet. The new Ministry should be advised by a co-ordinating committee consisting of chairmen of all the six All-India Boards working in the field. Similarly, there should be in the States a self-contained department, under the Minister who is also responsible for Co-operation, for looking after the development of village and small-scale industries and an officer of the highest departmental status should be responsible for working out an integrated programme of development. In each District there should likewise be at least one whole-time officer in charge of the administration and organisational aspects of the programme.

The Committee further considers that strengthening of the staffs of the various State departments concerned and the provision of adequate training at the various levels are of utmost importance and that any false economy on these heads will minimise the prospects of success of the whole plan. In regard to the working of the six All-India Boards engaged in the sector of small-scale and village industries, the Committee finds that they have, while giving adequate opportunities for non-official workers to influence the course of policy, been able to effectively orient official action in the desired direction. However, the whole question of determining the proper type of organisation for implementing a regular and normal programme of village and small-scale industries should be carefully examined before conferring a statutory status on the Khadi and Village Industries Board and similar other bodies.

PLANNING COMMISSION : PROHIBITION ENQUIRY COMMITTEE 1954-55. REPORT.
Delhi, Manager of Publications, Government of India, 1955. iv, 183p.

The Committee, which was established in December 1954 with Shri Shriman Narayan as its Chairman, has recommended that prohibition

should be regarded as an integral part of the Second Five Year Plan with the 1st April 1958 as the target date for complete nation-wide prohibition. During the period between the 1st April 1956 and the 1st April 1958 a gradual transition to complete prohibition should be effected by restrictive measures. The Committee strongly feels that "Prohibition is co-operative endeavour between officials administering the law and leaders of public opinion producing the necessary climate for enforcement." "If there is any one factor that makes prohibition policy effective, it is the educative aspect of enforcement."

Important among the administrative measures which the Committee recommends are : (1) The appointment of a non-official of the highest standing as an Administrator of Prohibition in each State, charged with the responsibility mainly of (i) co-ordinating official and non-official activities in respect of enforcement matters and (ii) setting up of educative machinery. (2) The establishment of special enforcement and intelligence branches *within* the State Police Departments, consisting of trained personnel for prohibition work. The Committee does not contemplate the creation of a new hierarchy of salaried officials. (3) The creation of Prohibition Boards at the State level and Prohibition Committees at the district, village and *mohalla* (ward) levels. These advisory bodies should include representatives both of the official machinery and of voluntary social organisations and the public. The Committee further proposes the enactment of comprehensive prohibition legislation in each State wherever it does not at present exist, and suggests that the law should cover all the manifold ramifications of the liquor traffic. To treat prohibition offences as a class distinct by itself would be inexpedient and these should be treated at par with other offences.

**MINISTRY OF WORKS, HOUSING AND SUPPLY : STORES
PURCHASE COMMITTEE. REPORT; MARCH 15, 1955. *Delhi,
Manager of Publications, Government of India, 1955. iv, 239p. Rs. 2-6.***

The Committee was appointed on March 11, 1953. Chairman : Shri S. N. Buragohain, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, till his demise in October, 1953; and Shri G.B. Kotak, M.L.A. (Saurashtra) w.e.f. December 18, 1953. The terms of reference include (i) scope and functions of the Central Purchasing Organization of India and the extent of delegation of powers for direct purchases; (ii) organisation of the Central Purchasing Organization to secure greater efficiency; (iii) procedure and methods of purchase to secure better quality of goods economically and expeditiously; (iv) procedure of inspection of stores; (v) assistance to articles of Indian manufacture—especially of small-scale and cottage industries; (vi) arbitration procedure; and (vii) disposal of surplus stores.

The Committee has recommended the setting up of (1) a high-powered Purchase and Development Board to control and co-ordinate Government's purchase; (2) a non-official Purchase Advisory Council to advise on procurement policy; and (3) a non-official Purchase Advisory Committee

to advise regional offices of the C.P.O. It has also suggested that a special purchase procedure should be evolved to promote indigenous manufacture of stores at present imported; certain classes of stores should be reserved for purchase only from cottage and small-scale industries; and a price preference of 25 per cent. should be allowed to small-scale and cottage industries, as against products of large-scale industries.

Indian Institute of Public Administration

DIRECTOR'S QUARTERLY REPORT

I. Preparation of Study Materials

During the quarter under review, a start has been made for the preparation of the following 'study materials' :

- (i) A manual which would give up-to-date description of the organization, functions and programmes of the various Departments of the Government of India and their subordinate and affiliated agencies;
- (ii) A monograph on facilities available for the "Study of Public Administration" at the Indian Universities; and
- (iii) A pamphlet which will present to the youth of the country, in a convenient form, an attractive and detailed picture of "Careers in the Public Service" at the Centre and at the State levels which are open to them.

II. Seminar of Directors of Institutes, and Heads of University Faculties or Departments, of Public Administration

It is proposed to organise the above Seminar at Delhi early in 1956.

The two principal topics for discussion will be : (1) what should be the aims and contents of courses in public administration given/to be given at Indian Universities and the relative emphasis on different parts of the courses; and (2) what factual material necessary for such courses is still wanting and what steps may be taken, by the Institute on the one hand and the Universities on the other, to make up the deficiency.

III. Library

The Institute's library now contains over 2,500 books and publications. The first instalment of an Author Catalogue

of about 575 publications, with a Subject Index at the end, is being published and supplied to members. The staff of the library is being strengthened to facilitate the starting of a reference service.

IV. Lectures

Mr. H. J. Wright, Chief Training Officer, Commonwealth Public Service Board, Australia, addressed an informal meeting of about 80 members of the Institute on the 4th November, 1955. Mr. Wright observed that general increase in the scope of Government functions in his country had necessitated a new emphasis on the proper use of human resources for achieving greater efficiency and speed in administration. The new demands arising from Government's greater concern with the economic and social well-being of the people, were being met by means of better selection and training, improved administrative methods, stricter internal examinations, general expansion of the inspectorial and research activities and a general policy of improving personnel practices.

Mr. Henry F. Goodnow, Public Administration Adviser, Institute of Public and Business Administration, University of Karachi, visited the Institute in the third week of October, 1955, and addressed the members and staff of the New Delhi Municipal Committee on the organization and working of the municipal government in the United States.

V. Building Programme

The Building Advisory Committee of the Institute at its last meeting held on the 21st December, 1955 have finalised the Building Programme which is expected to involve a non-recurring cost of Rs. 29,50,000. The construction of the building will be taken up as soon as practicable and is expected to be completed by the end of 1957.

VI. Regional Branches

The second meeting of the Bombay Regional Branch was held on the 12th November, when Shri B. Venkatappiah, I.C.S. (Retd.), Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, spoke on 'Reorganisation of Rural Credit'. The Branch has formed three study groups on the following subjects :

- (i) Co-ordination of development activities in Poona District;
- (ii) Functions of Central and State agencies side by side in a selected area; and
- (iii) Working of the Bombay State Road Transport Corporation.

All members of the Branch have been requested to indicate the aspects of Public Administration in the study of which they are particularly interested. The Executive Committee of the Branch has appointed a Library Sub-Committee to take steps to build up a library for the Branch.

Book Reviews

INDIAN DOCTRINES OF POLITICS; *K. M. PANIKKAR.* Ahmedabad, Harold Laski Institute of Political Science, 1955. 15p. 6 as.

This is a reprint of the First Annual Lecture of the Harold Laski Institute of Political Science which was delivered by Sardar K.M. Panikkar in July 1955. The Institute which was established in August 1954 is a non-partisan body. It conducts a library, holds seminars, and arranges talks 'with a view to better understanding the various issues of past and current political problems'.

In his first annual lecture Sardar Panikkar puts in a strong plea for an independent and objective study of the political thought of India. He considers that Laski's claim to greatness consists in his critical spirit and not in any special contribution to the theory of politics. This appraisal, while it acknowledges the undoubted scholarship which Laski brought to bear on his critical appraisal of the idealist as well as the materialistic theories of the state, leaves out of account two of his basic contributions. Nobody has done more than Laski to establish the validity of the proposition that democratic citizenship consists in actively participating to the greatest possible extent in the ordering of one's own social life, and that political equality has no reality for a citizen unless he also enjoys economic equality. The concept of democratic citizenship has been permanently enriched by Laski.

Sardar Panikkar is undoubtedly right in emphasizing the fact that Indian political thought has an independent existence, that it has its roots in the ideology and institutions of the country and that it is impossible to gather a meaningful understanding of the problems of Indian political and administrative life without following the trait of Indian concepts of political activity. For comparative and historical purposes, as well as for a study of what may be termed political philosophy, study of Western political literature is very valuable. Moreover, in so far as contemporary Indian life exhibits the social and economic traits of a developing industrial society many of the Western political concepts are beginning to have direct relevance to an understanding of the political and administrative problems of India. Nor can we afford to forget that the most significant and active currents of political life and of administrative organization in contemporary Indian life have been contributed by our association with the English people extending over two centuries.

Books like *Santi Parvam* in Mahabharata, *Artha Sastra* of Chanakya and *Sukra Niti* contain not only speculations about the nature and origin of the state, but also of the organization and working of the administrative system. The *Matsya Nyaya*—natural law of the bigger fish eating the smaller fish—is reminiscent of Hobbe's account of the state of nature as war of all against all; and the Indian authorization of the people's right to destroy a king who does not uphold the just order, *Dharma*, is reminiscent of Locke's thesis of a conditional social contract. The functional worth of a sovereign authority has been freely recognised in Indian political thought, as a life of morality and culture could not be thought of in an anarchical condition,

Probably Aristotle himself meant no more than this when he thought that the state was prior to the family, as the family was prior to the individual. It cannot, however, be denied that in Greek political thought a certain deification of the state, which was even more emphatically brought out in Sparta than in Athens, was a normal value. In this respect, Indian political thought was distinctly superior. The state, with the political sovereign as its supreme functionary was only one, and by no means the most exalted and respected, social organization. This honour was reserved for the moral and religious church. Besides, there were a number of occupational and regional organizations which, in their respective fields, claimed almost equal authority with the state. The Indian tradition was that of a plural, decentralized and functional distribution of social authority.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to claim that the Indian concept of the state was purely secular. Far from it, it was largely theocratic, as the king was permitted to rule as a handmaiden of the church. The functions of the state were, however, co-extensive with the material life of the people, and with their moral life in so far as the church would need its aid. As, however, the church, which was the reserve power in the community and occasionally acted as even the senior partner, was organized on a doctrine of pre-destination, *Karma*, and caste, the relationship between individual and state was never an issue worth discussion. The community as traditionally organized had a collective relationship with the sovereign, who was considered to be the very epitome of the moral and material life of the community. Ancient Indian thought, moreover, cannot be said to be any more egalitarian than the Greek.

Pluralism, decentralization, functional sovereignty and active social functions of the state are some of the characteristic concepts of Indian political thought which are deep-rooted in our philosophy and culture. On the other hand, social equality, individual freedom, dynamic progress and expanding nationalism are concepts which have been adopted by us from the West. Like the rest of our thought our political thought also represents a synthesis between our inheritance and our acquired experience. Sardar Panikkar has rendered a signal service by his timely reminder to students of politics that for an adequate and fruitful understanding of our political problems the study of our own ancient thought, and an independent study of our own conditions and problems are extremely desirable.

—D. G. Karve

THE ROLE OF THE ECONOMIST AS OFFICIAL ADVISER;
W. A. JOHR & H. W. SINGER. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1955.
xii, 150p. 15s.

As Prof. E.A.G. Robinson says in his foreword to this English translation of the original book in German, "no economist can share, even in a temporary capacity, in the shaping and administration of economic policy without asking himself some searching questions about his proper functions and responsibilities and his proper methods of work". Prof. Robinson himself summarises Prof. Johr's version of these functions as that "it is a reasonable and proper function of an economic adviser to contribute actively to more general judgments: why one objective should be given priority over another;

whether available resources are more adequate to achieve one objective than another; whether two objectives of policy are likely to conflict with each other". While the main contents of the book are Prof. Johr's composition, Dr. Singer has at appropriate places added suitable comments giving the reactions and special experiences of an economic adviser in an international organization. All in all, the book constitutes a good manual for economic advisers, especially for those who are in official service.

That the economist as economist is not interested in value judgments, and that his role is purely one of analysis and correction unconcerned with practical applications are taboos which have long since crumbled. The inter-war depression, the second world war and the problems of post-war reconstruction and planning have impressed the economist into the service of the community not only for the purpose of obtaining a better understanding of economic problems, but also for formulating and implementing methods of social action to meet them. While to a certain extent a division of labour may still exist between the economist as the economic analyst and the economist as economic consultant, nobody thinks of accusing the latter as being less of an economist. Moreover, the two roles are becoming interchangeable. To derive from the economist the best possible contribution to the understanding and solution of social problems it is desirable that the economic consultants should learn from experience how best they may discharge their characteristic role in the community. Both the authors have special experience of participation, along with several other economists, in the process of economic advice. What they say is full of interest both to those who give, and those who receive, economic advice.

Their exhortation that an adviser must clearly define the aim, fully analyse the situation and then formulate a practicable course of action so as to achieve the aim, indicates clearly the three constituent elements of economic policy. If all advisers on all occasions could keep to this rigid procedure it would be better for everybody. This course of action, however, presupposes that those who invite the economist's advice are clear in their own minds about what the aim is, or that they are ready to take the course of action indicated by the adviser. In such circumstances it may at least be argued that the very insistence of the adviser on following these constituents would lend a definition to the goals and methods of economic policy. It is no use, however, concealing from oneself the by no means rare situation in which administrative and political authorities have undefined or undisclosed ends, have made up their minds about the course of action to be followed and need the services of the economic adviser either to rationalize or to justify their behaviour. The economist as a professional instead of being treated as a jurist tends to be treated as a lawyer. At this level the economic adviser ceases to be an economist. At best he becomes an economic practitioner.

Prof. Johr has vividly depicted the various weaknesses from which economic practitioners suffer, and he has enumerated the several difficulties in regard to forecasting, and advocacy which beset the way of a professional consultant. His appreciation of a successful consultant's "capacity to grasp and solve a problem at first sight" comes dangerously near to applauding sheer empiricism. Let us hope that this is intended to be no more than an approval of what may be termed the economic doctor's clinical skill.

Dr. Singer has rightly brought out the special difficulties of economic experts attached to international bodies. They have to be at least half diplomats, and while analysing and elucidating issues and suggesting alternatives they must refrain from appearing to advocate particular courses of action. It is for representatives of individual nations assembled at these gatherings to initiate action. There are also special difficulties arising out of teams of international economists belonging to more than one country, having divergent interests and ideologies. It is very heartening to read that these inherent difficulties of the situation are being successfully overcome by developing a new professionalism. One cannot, however, refrain from expressing a doubt as to whether it is really possible to produce a helpful paper which purports to be analytical, without being biased, or at least suggestive.

—D. G. Karve

THE GUARDIANS; *PHILIP WOODRUFF.* London, Jonathan Cape, 1954. 385p, 25s.

'The Guardians' is the second of the two volumes of the book entitled 'The Men Who Ruled India'. The first volume 'The Founders' was published in 1953. The author, Philip Woodruff, was himself one of these guardians during a momentous period of Indian history when events moved with unparalleled and almost revolutionary speed. It is an inspiring tale that he narrates and whatever criticism one may have because of omissions, etc., on points of fact and sometimes also on the inferences that he draws from the facts that he sets down—and there is naturally room for criticism of this nature—one must readily pay a tribute to the author for the admirably clear and objective manner in which he has dealt with the underlying theme. His object clearly is to show to the world at large what a difficult task faced the British in India and how well that task was tackled. He has undoubtedly succeeded in this to a remarkable extent and he has done so by the somewhat unusual method of describing critically the doings at successive periods of a few selected men, outstanding amongst a host of other outstanding people. The brief semi-biographical sketches given in the book bring out the conditions and problems of each successive period, the objectives the Government of the day had set for itself to achieve and how these problems were solved and the objectives achieved. We have, in the result, in these volumes a fascinating account of Indian history written from the angle of those who helped in making and shaping it during the past two centuries.

The second volume in particular might more appropriately be given the subtitle 'Aspects of Public Administration in India under the British'. In fairness to the author, however, it should be said that it is not the purpose of the book to analyse the methods of the administration in India or even to attempt an appraisal of these systems. Even so, the book would have become even more invaluable had the author given somewhat fuller idea of the role of the guardians at the policy-making stages, and of the competence with which this role was discharged.

In calling these men, who ruled India since 1857, 'The Guardians', Mr. Woodruff has been influenced by their striking similarity to the class of

men whom Plato considered to be the repositories of wisdom and courage of the State. Like Plato's guardians, the English guardians too certainly believed that 'there was something in their composition that distinguished them from the people they ruled'. Like Plato's guardians, they too were forbidden to hold property in India or to take part in trade and were governed by their elders on principles that would have been approved by Plato. The vast majority of these men had set for themselves a high standard of efficiency and public virtue. They also firmly believed that action should be taken along lines which they believed and knew to be right and did not consider themselves accountable for direction to the people even though their actions deeply affected the interests of the people and were almost invariably conceived for their benefit. Trevelyan pays these men a genuine tribute when he says that the 'public spirit among the servants of the Government at home is faint compared with the fire of zeal which glows in every vein of an Indian official'. (The reference, of course, is to the British official of the Indian Civil Service in India.) Trevelyan proceeds to explain the reason for this striking difference and the superiority of the Indian Civil Servants. "The real education", says he, "of the Civil Servant (in India) consists in the responsibility that devolves on him at an early age which brings out whatever good there is in a man; the obligation to do nothing that can reflect dishonour on the Service; the varied and attractive character of his duties; and the example and precept of his superiors who regard him rather as a younger brother than a subordinate official."

This training and tradition of doing the best they could in the discharge of their duties helped them during the rapidly changing conditions of service and work in the twentieth century. Things did not stand still even in India and indeed the "Guardians" themselves without knowing played a notable part in the bringing about of quite revolutionary changes in the economic and political atmosphere of the country. The acceptance of the principles of progressive responsiveness to the wishes of the people of the country began a process of widening the conception of Government's functions. Tasks of a developmental nature began to be undertaken even though grudgingly. The "Guardians" could not easily shed conviction born of the training and tradition that only they knew what was good for the country. And yet, despite their intimate contact with the people, particularly in rural areas, they failed—save here and there in their individual capacities—to read the signs of the changing times or to realise that the time for paternal Government was gone. It was no longer enough only to dispense even-handed justice and maintain peace. Developmental activities had to be undertaken. It is in this one direction that the "Guardians" failed signally; that was not however so much their fault as that of the system of Government. Democracy with all its shortcomings has been found in the long run to be superior to all other forms of government including benevolent autocracy, chiefly because of the fact that it is not enough to give to people what the Government consider to be right and in their best interest but that what is given must also have close relation to what the people themselves want and think to be right.

The benevolent democratic rule such as that of the British was afraid to function in a positive manner because it was not sure what the people wanted and partly because it was perhaps subconsciously anxious not to advance too fast. Today, the independent Indian Government know what the people want and is confident also of judging rightly what they should want. It is

assuming vast new responsibilities and discharging them with a remarkable degree of efficiency. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that free India's Civil Servants must set themselves a tradition of high standards of conduct just as the "Guardians" did, and must live up to those standards. The politicians too must set for themselves a no less high standard of public and private conduct.

The second important lesson the "Guardians" have for us is the value of training. The earlier official career of the young guardian was anxiously watched over by a senior who impressed on him, by example rather than precept, his own high sense of duty and his own conception of what is done and what is not done. A great deal of attention is being devoted today to the training of the new recruits by us also but not enough has yet been done in practice in regard to training *through example* at a stage when the young man starts first assuming some responsibility.

Finally, there is the question of morale. The "Guardians" high morale was due largely to the general attitude of encouragement of subordinates. Each superior was prepared to shower ungrudging praise on his juniors for work done well and to castigate no less unhesitatingly for work done incompetently. The importance of this treatment in maintaining high standards of administrative efficiency is not always realised although it is indeed as essential a factor for sound and stable administration as are adequate training, a high sense of duty and an irreproachable standard of conduct, public and private.

—H. M. Patel

AMERICA'S RESOURCES OF SPECIALIZED TALENT; (*Report of the Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training*). New York, Harper & Bros., 1954. 332p. \$4.00.

The Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training, of which the book under review—America's Resources of Specialized Talent—is a report, came into existence to continue the work done during the Second World War by Research Councils engaged in a scientific study of manpower problems. Considerable interest in the proper utilisation of manpower is usually evident in war time, but in peace there is a tendency to be complacent about the requirements of specialised talent, the assumption being that supply will adjust itself to demand, perhaps, with a short but unpredictable time lag. In an age, where speed is of the essence, the time lags, especially when they are unpredictable, should be considered undesirable if satisfactory economic progress is to be maintained. This is the reason why in most of the advanced countries, irrespective of their political persuasion, considerable importance is now being attached to investigations in different aspects of manpower planning by Government or private agencies. The present Report, which brings together information of considerable value has been made possible because of the help received from a non-official organisation—the Rockefeller Foundation. But as has been rightly pointed out the Report "public agency rather than private foundation should, probably, be responsible for the continuing functions of collecting specialised manpower information and making that information publicly available" (pp. 280-81).

The manner in which specialisation begets specialisation has been ably illustrated in the Report with reference to America's experience in different fields of specialised manpower over the last fifty years. There has been a significant shift during the period in fields of specialisation; humanities, arts and professions including health, law etc. conceding ground to social sciences, engineering, business, commerce and education. It is, perhaps, disconcerting to find that in 'medicine' the number of graduates turned out in America increased only from 27.8 thousand in 1901-5 to 29.9 thousand in 1946-50. In other fields, even with the increased supply it is feared that over large fields of specialisation the supplies are rather inadequate. The question as to how such a situation has not led to disproportionate increase in salary levels is answered by the flexibility of demand. "If engineers are scarce and can command high salaries, employers are likely to seek other types of workers and to make other arrangements in an effort to reduce the demand for engineers" (p. 75). This is, perhaps, feasible in fields, where skills are interchangeable, but whether all specialised professions afford the same kind of flexibility is a point which, perhaps, could have been conveniently elaborated in the Report.

In the chapter on "Supply and Demand in the specialised fields" the work done in the United States by various agencies, public and private, in projecting manpower requirements has been brought together. It has been further pointed out, however, that "projections of future supply or future demand are possible only if definite assumptions are made regarding rewards for work in different fields and the cost of obtaining the services of different kinds of specialists" (p. 76). Also it is assumed that "current economic and military conditions will continue without major change; employment levels will remain high and earnings in different fields will retain essentially their current relationships" (p. 76). These assumptions are necessary and without them no estimates of future manpower requirements can be arrived at. But, these are general assumptions and for estimating the future needs in each specialised field, different methods of approach may have to be adopted. In some fields the methods have to be adjusted to the nature and volume of specific tasks to be achieved; in others they may have a relation to the society's desire for the expansion or contraction of certain services. The methods described in the Report are more by way of the interpretation of statistical material; and it would have been useful if at least in some categories of personnel the manner of collection of data was also described.

It is interesting to note that in the United States there is a waste of talent, if judged in the light of the criterion "a society can attain its full potential only when each of its members is enabled to contribute as fully as his individual abilities permit" (p. 137). That, however, is an extreme criterion to apply, especially in a country where a large variety of lines are open to persons with broad-based education. There is also a suggestion that the college and school classes could be doubled without serious detriment to efficiency. This statement judged in the light of the insufficient supply of teachers is rather confusing. It is not understood whether the observations taken together would indicate a preference in favour of quantity as against quality. The observation would have relevance in one sense that in the United States, of late, there has been a tremendous progress in narrow specialisation—breaking of a job into its smaller components—and permitting

specialisation for each part of the job which would, perhaps, render unnecessary a wider educational base for a majority of persons.

Another kind of wastage is also referred to very aptly as follows : "labour union, the employment office and the industrial personnel departments help to keep the country's plumbers, machinists and clerks at work in the fields in which they are experienced and do so more effectively than does any machinery which exists for providing same kind of services to country's mathematicians, linguists and lawyers" (p. 271). The ineffectiveness and inadequacy of the machinery for the latter type of personnel is also stressed, but even if an efficient machinery were available, it is doubtful whether mathematicians, linguists and lawyers, who essentially stray in a variety of fields, could be so channelled as to satisfy only a specific demand.

The most interesting part of the Report, perhaps, is the chapter on the "Utilisation of Educated Specialists" which contains a number of suggestions for using unutilised skills at a time when every engineer or scientist added to the total pool can make a significant contribution to the nation's progress. Viewed in this light, the utilisation of superannuated workers, the employment of educated women in larger numbers, the better utilisation of established specialists by making available to them an increased measure of technical assistance—all assume a new significance not only for America, but for all countries where shortage of technical talent impedes development.

On the whole the Report is a valuable addition to the scarce literature on the subject and has many important lessons for research workers in the field of manpower planning. Even though considerable information is made available in a very concise manner, the Report is modest enough to lament the inadequacy of data and that too in a country which has a far advanced statistical machinery than is available to many others. This in itself shows the immensity of the problem and the need of a much bigger effort that is necessary in underdeveloped countries where the need for optimum utilisation of specialised talent is all the more acute in the context of development.

—B. N. Datar

THE PRACTICE OF MANAGEMENT ; PETER F. DRUCKER.
London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1955. 355p. 25s.

The title of the book generally belies the treatment of the subject. It should really have been called 'The Philosophy of Management' as actual examples have been employed to theorise on various aspects of managing a business. From the nature of the subject handled, it is difficult to escape the charge that at times theorising borders on casuistry. The subject has however been skilfully analysed and presented in a delightfully easy style. The book is of absorbing interest and thought-provoking, even though one may differ from the conclusions suggested or the nature of evidence adduced in support of them.

The main theme of the book is that management, in the context of the cold war, is necessary for the survival of the Western civilization and for the continuance of the freedom of erstwhile colonial countries—a philosophy which is in a way the product of current tensions on the political plane. The ideological emphasis is probably intended to purge business under the capita-

listic system of many of its drawbacks which make it incompatible with current progressive thought in the West. For example, profitability is not regarded by the author as a primary motivating force though business must make adequate profits to cover the risk of economic activity and for the maintenance of wealth producing resources. It is contended that this is in conformity with the Soviet theory of 'management by the roubles'. Successful business, of which Sears Roebuck is cited as an example, is defined in terms of objectives such as continuous customer research and innovation in product designs. The vicissitudes of the Ford Company support the theory that objective management is superior to individual direction howsoever brilliant. Thus under the influence of progressive ideas, business has assumed, under the thesis of the author, some of the altruistic principles embodied in the concept of socialisation of resources. The author has perhaps not realised, though readers can hardly miss it, that this concept of business narrows the ideological gap between the contestants in the cold war. The utility of the book is enhanced thereby in that it can be read profitably by all schools of thought. There is enough that repays the reader's attention in the excellent analysis that the author has made of some aspects of management that are common to private business, nationalised undertakings and Governmental activities.

It will be difficult to reproduce in the space of this review a systematic analysis of his thought-structure. The subject is so vast and the sequence of arguments so close that it will be doing violence to the book to attempt it. Attention is therefore drawn to a few isolated ideas of general interest which are indicative of the nature of subject dealt with in the book.

The author attempts a dynamic definition of management. It is not synonymous with the 'top' people or the 'boss'. It does not consist in mechanical assemblage of resources. It is a creative rather than an adaptive task. It is not a creature of the economy; it is a creator as well. In fact, management seeks to transmute resources by utilising human beings to better purpose. Management is not therefore a matter of 'hunch' or 'native ability'. Intuitive manager is a luxury that few companies can afford owing to the long time-span between a decision and the ripening of its fruit in modern industrial economy. Setting objectives enables a business to get where it should be going rather than be the plaything of weather, wind and accidents. He defines eight areas in which objectives of performance and results have to be set: market standing, innovation, productivity, physical resources, profitability, manager performance and development, worker performance and attitude, and public responsibility. He then proceeds to discuss these objectives in detail.

Mr. Drucker's most remarkable analysis of management problems is contained in the chapters on 'The Principles of Production', 'Managers must Manage', 'Developing Managers', 'What kind of Structure', 'Building the Structure', 'I.B.M. Story', and 'Human Organization for Peak Performance'. The emphasis all the time is on the central purpose of management, namely the organisation of economic resources in the service of the society. This purposive premise gives his conclusions somewhat of a wider appeal than to the business undertakings in a capitalistic system. Important among these conclusions are :—

(i) Production is not the application of tools to materials but the application of logic to work; each system of

production—of which he mentions four : production of unique products, mass production, new and old styles, and process production—has its own logic and makes its own demands on management.

(ii) Structure of a business is not a matter of *ad hoc* adjustment. It should be based on careful analysis in terms of its objectives. This analysis should be made under three broad categories : activities analysis, decision analysis and relations analysis. The functions of each of these are described in detail.

(iii) The job of the Chief Executive in every business (except perhaps the very smallest) cannot properly be organised as the job of one man. It must be the job of a team of several men acting together; otherwise there is the tendency to constitute 'Kitchen Cabinets'—motley staff of personal confidantes, miscellaneous assistants, 'control' section, etc.—and reduce management to 'administration by crony'.

(iv) Central office specialists more often than not seriously impede the work of operating managers; they are much too interested in pushing their particular 'programme'. In every company the biggest organisation problem is the relationship between these specialists and the management whom they are supposed to serve.

(v) Emphasis laid by management technicians upon limited span of responsibility for supervision is hardly justified. A manager should have responsibility for a few more men than he can take care of, otherwise he is likely to take over their jobs or 'breathe down' the necks of his subordinates.

(vi) 'Job rotation' as the tool for developing higher executives hardly serves any useful purpose. One does not become broader by adding one narrow speciality to another; one must see the job as a whole. A man should never be given a job that is not a real job, that does not require performance from him.

(vii) Promotions 'out of turn' have certain drawbacks too. The concept of the 'promotable-man' focusses attention on one man out of many; consigning the majority who manage the business at all levels, to the limbo. Whatever can be gained by developing the chosen few is offset by stunting the resentment of those who are passed over.

The book begins and closes with a note about the indispensability of management to the Western economic system. Such a thesis leads the author to regard management as a primordial resource of business while workers and capital are assigned orbital roles. Whenever a crisis arises, Mr. Drucker argues, it is management that is replaced and not workers; capital is inanimate and hence of secondary importance. Many unconvincing arguments are employed by the author to deify his particular concept of management, namely that it is the basic resource of the business enterprise and its *scarcest*,

This almost hyperbolic description of management has obscured his vision and it is perhaps due to this that the book practically omits a discussion of the optimum size of the business. Perhaps the logical conclusions of this subject would have impaired the theory built by him either way. Too big an enterprise would tantamount to cartelisation—an anathema even in the U.S.A.; medium and small enterprises do not need such extensive theorising for their management. Though recognising the value of profit-sharing schemes for increasing production, the author has failed to appreciate the significance of worker-management co-operation in planning production: he considers that the effectiveness of the worker is determined by the way he is managed. These are some of the minor faults of the book amidst many of its major virtues by which it must ultimately be judged.

—*Indarjit Singh*

TEACHING MANAGEMENT—A Practical Handbook with Special Reference to the Case Study Method; HARRY NEWMAN AND D. M. SIDNEY. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1955. 274, xxvi p. 15s.

The handbook written by two men eminently qualified by special study and experience to teach management subjects, discusses in detail the relative merits of the various teaching methods as applied to the study of management. While the authors devote considerable space to the need for systematic and intelligent planning of the lecture, the syllabus, lesson plans, handling of the first class and examinations, they concentrate primarily on participation methods of instruction like the discussion group, directed and non-directed discussions, role playing and case studies. Part II (chapters 8 to 10) which deals with the case study approach to management education is especially instructive. The book has a foreword by Lt. Col. L.F. Urwick and the authors also reproduce, as an appendix, a letter written in 1951 by Lt. Col. Urwick as leader of the Anglo-American Productivity Team on Management Education, to the Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration.

The 'Introduction' contains a confession that 'management is not a subject like engineering or physics' and 'to teach management is to teach a constant social process and not a comparatively static system of facts'. The authors feel that we must fully recognise the limitations of the scientific method as it applies in the less precise area of management studies. They further believe that management skills cannot altogether be abstracted and taught theoretically, as management deals with human beings and teaching general principles is not enough. Accordingly, whether or not management can ever become an exact discipline, it is certain that in the present day the teacher must attempt to teach not so much the science of management as an objective approach to its problems.

In the opinion of the authors, the case study method provides the nearest approach to practical management experience. The case method teaches the student to examine and analyse, it also impels him to draw conclusions and to decide. Case study gives students a broad overall view of management, brings out the inter-dependence of various parts of the organisation and encourages an approach to problems whereby each situation is handled on its own merits and irrelevant principles or 'standard' solutions are avoided.

The philosophy behind the case study is that 'learning takes place through participation. Criticism or guidance from one's peers is educative, criticism from a superior is not'. At Harvard where the case study method is in vogue, teachers do little more than provide a situation in which discussion can take place. At other institutions the teacher plays a slightly more than active role. After all, the authors point out : "People do not learn to think by being told how to, but by getting practice in thinking. One of the trainer's main functions is to give them this practice." In short, while the other methods emphasise 'know-how', the case study stresses 'know-why'.

The authors examine the usefulness of different types of case studies—the success story, personal statement and limited objective case and conclude that the longer problem cases are best for the middle and higher levels of management. The case study, they further feel, has obvious limitations: it is not possible to cover all material by using case studies alone; the case study does not impart the knowledge of a company's background and personalities involved; skill in dealing with case studies is not a sure criterion of skill in management. The usefulness of the case study method mainly lies in fields where human factor is important—where a knowledge both of 'know-how' and 'know-why' is essential for success on the job.

The application of the case study method to public administration is quite a recent development. Beginning with the earlier studies of the Social Science Research Council in the years 1934-1945, recent case studies undertaken in the United States by the Committee on Public Administration Cases and under the Inter-University Case Programme are more on questions of substantive policy. These studies underline the influence of various social disciplines like psychology, sociology and politics, in 'decision-making'. The use of case method, borrowed from business management studies, in programmes of in-service training would go a long way to sharpen the capacity of the administrators for dispassionate analysis and critical judgment, lead to more balanced decisions and provide a common ground for understanding between government and people.

Case studies have hardly been developed in India. The techniques of case study detailed in the book could be usefully drawn on for purposes of preparing suitable studies. The book should, therefore, be of great interest to both teachers and trainees engaged not only in the field of management but also in the sphere of public administration.

—B.S.N.

TRAINING IN HOME MANAGEMENT; MARGARET WEDDELL.
London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955. vi, 198p. 12s. 6d.

The study of the principles and techniques of management, as applied in private industry, has during the last few decades been attracting increasing attention, especially in the United States. Its incursion into other fields, e.g., public administration, has been comparatively a slow process; its extension to matters like home management which are commonly considered to be the domain of domestic life, has so far been virtually unknown. Margaret Weddell breaks a new ground in bringing the science of management nearer to our

daily lives. The cause of unsuccessful homes, she points out, very often lies "in general muddle and mis-management; or in financial anxiety; or still more likely, in unsatisfactory human relationship.....Muddle whether in daily routine or in the budgeting of money is a matter of organisation. Thus we have three headings.....the human side, organisation and crafts. To these may be added another—a knowledge of, and interest in, the relevant arts and sciences." Viewed in the scientific perspective, the technology of home-making therefore follows the same principles as does any industrial organisation or public agency. The basis of modern home-making, like that of an industrial enterprise, is "partnership and individual freedom", and "to blend these harmoniously under present-day living conditions needs much.....thought and attention".

Margaret Weddell takes great pains to remove the age-old prejudice that training in home management is either redundant or unfruitful. The majority of housewives are trained 'on the job'; and it is thus widely assumed that any woman is qualified by her nature and sex to do household work. It is also contended that training in home-making cannot implant in women that love for children which is the mainspring of family happiness. The traditional training in housecrafts has accordingly been mainly confined to cooking, laundering and sewing. Against all these, the author draws our attention to the damage done by the untrained housewife to her own nervous system and to the family at whose expense she learns by experience to perform her duties. She further stresses that 'domestic literacy' alone cannot raise the general tone of family life. If organised training has yielded dividends in the case of many types of work formerly learnt only by experience, it can also help the amateur housewife substantially to develop those attitudes, skills and knowledge which make for good and happy homes.

The author reviews briefly the activities of the numerous and varied private, state, and professional organisations and agencies found in the U.K. which impart education and training in home skills and crafts, and applauds the close partnership which exists between the statutory bodies and the voluntary services. She finds that while there is surprisingly enough a large number and variety of such institutions there is no central clearing house for pooling together of information and experience, there is a shortage of highly skilled teachers and inadequate emphasis on education for home-making *as a whole*. What is needed is a concerted drive towards dovetailing the work of social and education agencies with that of specialised bodies, and a more imaginative and bold scheme of further education in home-making which should give greater attention to problems of child development, marriage guidance, care of the old, labour saving equipment and budgeting. The new aim should be to make 'average families really good' and 'good ones really excellent'.

The book is written in an admirably lucid style and may be read with advantage by all persons interested in the wider ramifications of the science of management.

—U.M.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN THE PHILIPPINES; Stene and Associates. *Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines.* 1955. x, 415p.

The book, No. 15 in the series of the publications of the Philippine Institute of Public Administration, is a collection of contributions by different authors on the various aspects of Philippine administration. The subjects covered include national administrative structure, centralism in administration, personnel administration, national planning and regulatory agencies, local government, internal and auxiliary service, government corporations, budgeting and financial control, administration of public revenues, foreign affairs' administration, political and legal controls, and new developments in Philippine Public Administration.

The work is the result of the co-operative efforts of the staff—both American (on deputation from the University of Michigan) and Philippine—of the Philippine Institute and is intended to serve as 'the core of text material' for the Institute's academic programme. The contributions give an illuminating and somewhat detailed account of the principal features and characteristics of public administration in Philippines. We find that the problems of public administration in underdeveloped countries of Asia show a remarkable similarity. For instance, both in the Philippines and India, there is, due to the low level of development, a noticeable tendency for the best brains of the nation to be attracted to government and professions; government interest and intervention in the economic sector is widely accepted as legitimate and necessary; there is a marked insistence on the legal and procedural framework for improving administration as well as for safeguarding the rights of the individual civil servant; an increasing emphasis on the extension of the merit system; a general lack of equipment and facilities for the use of advanced techniques of operation and shortage of technically trained or experienced personnel.

The Philippine administration, however, exhibits certain distinct features not found in India. The system of government in the Philippine Republic is presidential and unitary; there is a high degree of centralism, and local autonomy to administer local programmes is virtually absent; there is hardly a 'position classification' plan in the modern sense; the Civil Service includes both 'elective and appointive' personnel; the administration of the Civil Service is highly centralised and vested in the Bureau of Civil Service which is under the direct supervision of the President; the Bureau is responsible for recruitment as well as for maintaining the discipline and its decisions though final can be appealed to the Civil Service Board of Appeals; there exists a Presidential Complaints and Actions Committee as also a system of numerical rating of elements of efficiency; and a beginning has recently been made with the introduction of programme budgeting.

The descriptive materials given in the book have been supplemented by generalisations and critical analyses, and some of the conclusions drawn are extremely interesting. Referring to the effect of climate on ecology of Philippine Government, Professors Larson and Stene observe :

"The enervating effects of tropical climate are clearly evident and may explain in part the amount of time required

to complete even the simplest routine activities of government. Governmental sensitiveness, also is sometimes attributed to climate. The daily newspaper reports indicate that crimes of emotion are relatively high in Philippines. Administrative and supervisory techniques in government must be adapted to a likelihood of highly emotional responses among employees and the public alike."

The following remarks of Professor Abueva on the application of the human relations approach in underdeveloped countries are also highly significant :

"Historical and cultural factors in the Philippines complicate the problem of applying the human relations approach. Centuries of domination by a stern colonial administration developed attitudes and patterns of interpersonal relationships which are not well suited to its adoption. Thus the new approach may be accepted intellectually, but conditions for its acceptance in practice have yet to be brought about over a long period."

In chapter III, Professor Stene sums up the influence of centralism in Philippine administration as follows :

"Effective over-all authority and leadership cannot be maintained where there is minute control over details of procedure. Thus the Cabinet, by devoting much of its time to minor administrative matters, fails to serve as a strong advisory body to the President on matters of national policy. The Bureau of Civil Service has already lost the battle to maintain a merit system; the Auditor's office exerts far less influence in the avoidance of illegal or wasteful expenditures than its detailed scrutiny would indicate; and the Bureau of Supply can realize virtually none of the advantages of centralized purchasing. The house-keeping services have largely broken down and all that remains is a time-consuming and expensive system of procedures. The same kind of situation holds largely for the central offices of department Secretaries."

The above observations are presumably the result of an objective and co-operative study by the authors; they might even represent the personal views and opinions of foreign experts *not* fully acquainted with local traditions and conditions. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to know what the Philippine nationals themselves, especially those who have a first-hand knowledge and experience of the Philippine administration, think of the matter.

—B. S. N.

PAPERWORK MANAGEMENT : PART I, In the U.S. Government : A Report to the Congress : REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON ORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT (Second Hoover Commission). *Washington D.C., Superintendent of Documents, 1955, vii. 24p. 15c.*

The report of the Commission as also of its Task Force examines the cost and volume of paperwork in the Federal Government and ways and means for economy in expense and effort. The Commission have made a series of recommendations concerning rationalisation of forms, reports and correspondence methods, effective utilisation of office machines and equipment, standardising of recording procedures, and training in paperwork management. The Commission have further proposed that there should be in each Government department a top official responsible for supervising and directing paperwork management and that at the Federal level this responsibility should rest with the General Services Administration.

The Commission find that it is only in a few instances that the Government directives and instructions are issued in the most effective, co-ordinated and economical manner. A common "wasteful condition is the practice in some agencies of subordinate echelons rewriting and expanding the instructions received from above. Not only is this practice costly, but confusion as to the original meaning is increased each time the original is paraphrased and interpreted. While some flexibility must be retained, substantial rewriting can be avoided by the department forwarding to its subordinate units only those directives or portions of directives of concern to them."

In respect of the registration of 'dak', a survey made by the Task Force has revealed that the average cost for registering and controlling mail was 21 cents (*i.e.* Re. 1) per item. The Task Force considers that the registration of incoming mail should generally be limited to such categories of receipts as involve the problem of the rights of the Government and the individual.

The Commission are very critical of the quality of personnel placed in charge of paperwork in the U.S. Government departments and agencies. The latter "either scatter responsibilities for various segments of the field among relatively trained, low-ranking employees as a part-time activity, or push the responsibility off onto some higher ranking employee too busy to give serious attention to it". The Commission therefore recommend that the U.S. Civil Service Commission should fix definite standards of qualification and experience and pay for the personnel engaged on paperwork management and that the departments and agencies should give more attention to training such personnel in the highly specialised job of paperwork management.

Each of the three recommendations mentioned above could be profitably applied in the case of Central and State Secretariats in India where the position is reported to be not very much different in these matters. Shelved of their 'pseudo-technical' terms, the reports should make a useful reading for our administrators in general and 'O & M' officers in particular.

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Book Reviews

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NATIONALISATION AND INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT—Example of British Coal-Mining; S. K. SAXENA. *The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1955. 184p.*

Tracing the history of industrial conflict in the coal-mining industry in the U.K. since its nationalisation in 1947, the book reviews some major disputes in the industry and the results of a field enquiry into the local labour relations situation, conducted at two collieries.

The author finds that at the time of nationalisation, trends towards a uniformity in the wage structure were discernible. But the National Coal Board has not been able to evolve a definite systematized method of wage payment all over the country; and a large number of disputes still relate to wage issues. More important than that is perhaps the absence of any material change in the outlook of the miners who as yet have not outgrown their earlier unpleasant associations. On the whole, Mr. Saxena feels that industrial unrest is generally declining, and concludes that "it would probably be correct to say that the amount of co-operation and goodwill which now exists at the national level would have been very difficult to achieve under private ownership of the industry".

—J.M.K.

TRENDS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA SINCE THE TRANSFER OF POWER; B. S. KHANNA. *Hoshiarpur, Vishveshvaranand Book Agency, 1955. 20p. Rs. 2. The Research Bulletin (Arts), University of Punjab, No. 16.*

The pamphlet gives a very short but succinct bird's-eye view of the major developments in the field of public administration in India since Independence. The survey is divided into two parts : (1) developments in the civil service structure, recruitment methods, training programmes, conditions of service, and relations between the civil servants, legislators and ministers; and (2) trends in organisation, methods and procedures, especially in regard to the form of organisation for operating public enterprises, decentralisation of administration and delegation of financial powers, separation of the judiciary from the executive and the use of advisory committees and O & M techniques.

—R.G.M.

THE BIG BUSINESS EXECUTIVE—The Factors That Made Him; MABEL NEWCOMER. *New York, Columbia University Press, 1955. xii, 164p. \$4.00.*

This is an interesting study of the family background, education, training and experience of 'top executives' of the big business in the United States. The recent trend towards professionalism in business is characterised by greater emphasis on education, better chances for men from low income groups to reach the top, development of a code of professional ethics and longer periods of apprenticeship. Dr. Newcomer, however, does not give the final answer to the basic question: "What kind of education makes for a successful executive"? She feels that college education contributes to success, but not specialised education in such fields as law and engineering. The typical executive has had some specialised professional training but he is more of a specialist in a single business organisation in which he has spent the larger part of his life and which he heads.

—K.R.S.

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